सत्यमेव जयते

आदिवासी संशोधन पत्रिका

TRIBAL RESEARCH BULLETIN

Tribal Research & Training Institute,
Maharashtra State, Pune

XXV No.1 & 2

March & September, 2002

बैल-
भिल्लांच्या सोंगी नाचातील बैलाचा मुखवटा

गव्याच्या शिंगांचा मुकुट
माडीया गोंडांनी सणासुदीसाठी तयार केलेला मुखवटा

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Editorial

The developmental history of our country is replete with myriad instances of glaring discrepancies between promise and practice - between aspirations and achievements. Prominent among them are the ever-debated issues relating to tribal development - a holistic panorama encompassing their education and indoctrination, acculturation, economic emancipation and the like. Plans have been made and plans have been implemented, targets have been set and targets have been achieved. But the stark reality that grins at all the ideologues propounding theories of development and modernization is the fact that tribals of our State are languishing in the cruel lap of poverty, squalor, illiteracy, exploitation and such other socio-economic handicaps.

As a Research Institute with a limited mandate, we have made many bold attempts to highlight the pinching tribal issues from time to time. Whether it is education or nistar rights to Minor Forest Produce or right to prey animals and birds or right to acquire, hold and dispose of property, we do find a plethora of hounding restrictions for the tribal community under the institutionalized regulations of our system. Paradoxically we find that when it comes to protection of forest or wild life or environment according to the elitist concepts it is the tribals who are destined to make the first sacrifice, when it comes to providing irrigation facilities for agriculture or road network in forest areas, it is the tribals who pay the price for the larger interest, for the greater good of the influential number.

It is debatable whether the tribal is the destroyer of forest or it is the civil society. Who needs more timber and who needs less?. Does any one assess the timber requirement and consumption scale in towns, cities and metropolis before pointing his fingers at tribals? We tend to believe hat the tribals are more sinned against than sinning just because they are tribals. What a pity ! The intellectuals of our society cannot think of demolishing a part of our metropolis(es) for raising greenery, for environmental protection, ecology preservation or anti pollution drive. But when it comes to tribal areas the cost of human life appears so cheap !

55 years after independence is not enough a period to assure dignity of individual to the tribals! Revolutionary leftism is raising its head, believably in a situation of utter vaccum where the institutionalized system of delivery has failed to achieve positive result. Whether this failure can be attributed as a natural offshoot of duality of standard in an elitist democracy or whether the tribal community itself has failed the ambitious developmental schemes - remains yet a great debatable issue.

The Constitution of India has all noble aims. It speaks of assuring dignity to all individuals. The system of governance in a Parliamentary Democracy rests on an oligarchic platform. Developmental models are made and tried by the reigning elites. Improvisations on teethless models are possible either through introspection or by circulation of elites. Let us hope that an improved model of tribal development hatches out of orthogenetic and heterogenetic forces. We have probably to wait and watch.

EDITOR IN CHIEF

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CONTENTS

Pages

Editorial

1. Revamping Tribal Education System To Suit The New Millennium.
- Bipin B. Mallick

2. Prevalence of Chronic Energy Deficiency Among Two Tribal Populations of A.P.
- **P. Venkatramana**
- **P. Chengal Reddy**

3. Problems of Tribal Youth Beneficiaries under TRYSEM Programme.
- **Dhane A.V.**
- **Dhane V.P.**
- **Deshmukh A.B.**

4. Some Observations on Childhood Rituals Among The Mundas of Eastern India
- Ashiskumar Das

5. Plant Protections Indigenous Technology Knowledge of Melghat Tribals In India.
- **P.O. Ingle**
- **M.K.Rathod**

6. Identification and Documentation of Indigenous Agricultural Knowledge Possessed by Madia Tribal Farmers.
- **D.M. Dudhe, Dr.P.S. Shinde**
- **Dr.R.S.Bhople,**
R.R.Chaudhari

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7. Indigenous Technology Knowledge About Seeds Storage and Maintaining Genepool by Tribals of Melghat, India.
- P.O. Ingale
- M.K. Rathod

8. Administration of IRDP in Pune District.
- Dr. Lakshiminarayana R. Tarodi

9. एकाकीपणा-आदिवासींच्या विकासातील एक अडथळा-
- पी.आर.तिकोने

10 आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांचे शिक्षण : एक दृष्टीकोन
- करुण ता.हंबीर
- नरेंद्र रा.देशमुख

11 मौखिक पावरा वाड़:मय
- डी.जी.पाटील

12 माडिया गोंड
- एम.एस.गायकवाड

13 गांडुळ खताची निर्मिती- आदिवासींना आर्थिक उत्पन्न मिळकतीचा लघुउद्योग
- इंदरशहा मडावी

14 भवाडयाचे मुखवटे

15 वृत्तविशेष

REVAMPING TRIBAL EDUCATION SYSTEM TO SUIT THE NEW MILLENNIUM

* Bipin Mallick

Education, having been made a fundamental right under the 97th amendment to the Constitution aptly accentuated by a proactive Supreme Court of our country, is bound to receive a new fillip and a new orientation in the 21st century. The times ahead will place India as a vibrant world level actor in several facets of international relations. The present level of manpower export from this country is likely to witness a steady increase over the coming years. indicating better self-actualization opportunities and better quality of life for the able, capable and eligible people.

It is now in this context that we find a systemic vacuum for the tribal boys and girls who will continue to languish in the bottom rung of social hierarchy, in spite of all our earlier policy interventions, if we allow the vernacular education to continue in residential *ashram* schools, that too, at no less cost. A time has come when we need to make a meaningful utilization of the available resources and infrastructure for a meaningful empowerment of this segment of our population so that they acquire and possess the ability to avail the self-actualization opportunities in a competitive atmosphere in the new millennium.

It is a proven fact of history that the Tribals of the north eastern states have developed in all respects due to their social indoctrination and acculturation through English medium education which was introduced as a matter of policy soon after independence. In other parts of our country where vernacular system was adopted we could produce mostly an antiquated band of literates who find it hard to catch up with the mainstream and dominant social groups as the latter is galloping towards modernization by reaping the benefits of western education.

Thus when it was doubly desirable for the tribals to take to western education, most of the moderately developed states exposed them to a traditional educational framework. We have certainly lost a precious time in history in the sense that we could have achieved much

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more in terms of social engineering and incremental social output out of the same resources and possibly, could have boosted ourselves of having a balanced growth of all segments of our stratified society. We should be conscious of the fact that no society can become great if a sizeable number of its constituents are kept at a level where they are deprived of an opportunity to contribute their part in a consensual nation building process.

History testifies the fact that India could attain freedom because of English Education and exposure of Indian elites to the western concepts of liberty, equality and justice. In the post-independence era the dominant Indian gentry moved ahead of bottomers by dint of western education. The caste system in Indian social structure got entrenched due to privileged entry of higher strata people to higher government services and other rewarding sectors through English education. It is a fact of our society that English educated people have a distinctive edge over the vernaculars.

The tri-language formula followed in our *ashram* schools does not provide the required firmament in English language to most of the students so as to empower them with a competitive edge over their English medium counterparts. We certainly do not deny also the fact that most of our present day elites did have a vernacular background. Nevertheless we are conscious of the social developments and globalization of our society and the requisite individual attributes of such a society in the new millennium. It is now realized at all levels that a systemic and structural reorientation of our society is possible only through a balanced human resource development in our country by strategic policy intervention in educational matters.

The country has experimented with *Navodaya* model with the aim of creating a human resource reserve who would be modern in education and outlook and would still have a love for country sides in line with Doon School pattern. Similarly we are experimenting with Ekalabya Public Schools with definite agenda in view for the advancement of tribal students.

The 97th amendment seeking free and compulsory education for children below 14 years of age now poses a spectrum of new questions before all policy makers. If education is to be provided to all as a matter of fundamental right, then what should be the standard and quality of education if 'Fundamental Right'

is to be understood in the international context?

Education being a vehicle of acculturation and indoctrination is also a medium for social reproduction. Since the main plank of our tribal development policies centers around the core objective of 'integration' in the social mainstream, we might perhaps have to introduce a curriculum representing the mainstream or dominant value system of the national as well as international community.

Tribal education system, therefore, needs to be re-focused and reoriented to achieve an indoctrination of the values of international community and not a social reproduction with the primordial cultural moorings. Thus there is a great necessity to introduce English medium education for the tribal students at very early age –may be at play school and preschool level for effective indoctrination to suit the Indian society of 21st century.

We can think of introducing English as the basic medium of education in all state-controlled/state owned *ashram schools* and *Devnagari* can be introduced at a later stage under the tri-language formula as in vogue in CBSE/ICSE/ Maharashtra Board to provide a smooth corridor to both Marathi and Hindi and probably to their own dialect which hardly exists.

Tribal Ashram schools spread out in good number throughout the Country offer a ready infrastructure for the proposed system while *Anganwadi/Balwadi* dealing with pre-school education for tribal children can easily be converted to English medium pre-school centres with insignificant additional cost.

For a tribal student, learning of Marathi will be as difficult and as foreign as learning English. Therefore, teaching of English language at play school and kindergarten level will never be a big problem except for the problems of getting suitable teachers. It is expected that cultural indoctrination or social reproduction will mutate towards positive incremental structural modernization if children are given early and right schooling as is done in residential English medium schools.

The proposed system will also solve our staffing problem in difficult and inaccessible areas where most of our teachers do not find good educational opportunities for their own children. (*Navodaya* school is a good example where children of teaching staff do get the right educational opportunities even in country sides)

Protagonists of traditional education may raise the issue of generation gap or cultural invasion in tribal societies with western education system. Generation gap and cultural modernization are social facts and do exist also in the most modern societies of the West. It

is the individual who decides the structure of his/her culture. An enlightened individual will be a better judge in this respect. Hence such reactionary theories and arguments do not hold water. In every structural change and synthesis there appears a cultural lag and English education has better resilience and is better positioned to mitigate such social lags precisely because the ideas of rationalism, humanism, liberty and equality will also find their place in the intellectual make up of the indoctrinated tribal students alongwith other heterogenetic factors.

We do believe that English education is a bare necessity for every individual in the 21st century. Our endeavor now is to sensitize the Governments and the rational individuals in the right direction and drive home the issue that a critical intervention has been neglected since long and the same is feasible with negligible additional investments.

It can be safely visualized that all new *ashram schools* and *Balwadis/ Anganwadis* will start with English education whether state run or aided with vocational trades and computer literacy as essential ingredients. Simultaneously all existing vernacular schools can be transformed to English Medium Schools during the 9th Five year Plan itself if we move in a planned and concerted manner. We may think of involving NGOs and Missions in undertaking this Herculean task. Upon introducing all these strategic interventions we can visualize a day when Tribals of our country would be more than suitable as global actors and participants/ stake holders in the process of modernization. We will certainly get a more orderly and egalitarian society with lesser social problems.

We mention here that it would not be worthwhile to devote our time and energy in conducting evaluation studies of the present system as a prerequisite for prescribing the new pattern. We may start with a good number of brain-storming sessions; an expert committee might have to be appointed by the Government to go into the technical details of requirements and a visionary policy intervention can be launched without scholastic exertions.

We firmly believe that India can thus achieve a LOW COST-HIGH IMPACT structural change and modernization by making the right intervention in the most critical area. One can anticipate that 10 years hence, tribal people of our country will stand on a different pedestal with a self-propelling mechanism for further developments.

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PREVALENCE OF CHRONIC ENERGY DEFICIENCY AMONG TWO TRIBAL POPULATIONS OF ANDHRA PRADESH

*P. Venkatramana and **P.Chengal Reddy

INTRODUCTION

Energy Under nutrition is the most common nutritional disorder among the backward communities in the world today. Energy under nutrition, often referred as under nutrition, can be defined as energy intakes below the energy requirement. Energy under nutrition exists in a variety of forms depending on the severity, duration, and frequency of the under nutrition. If this under nutrition is continuous and of long standing, then it is commonly referred as Chronic Energy Deficiency (CED). It is usually of mild to moderate intensity, though its effects may be severe, as severe energy deficiency cannot be withstood indefinitely.

Chronic energy deficiency affects body size and is commonly defined anthropometrically as deficits in weight and height in children, and in adults by the body mass index (BMI : weight/height^2). The BMI, which is a common index for the assessment of adult overweight and obesity (Garrow, 1981) has also been proposed as a measure of CED (James et al, 1988). Three grades of CED (Grade 1 (17.0-18.4 kg/m^2), II (16.0-16.9 kg/m^2) and III (<16.0 kg/m^2) based on BMI are identified (Ferro-Luzzi et al., 1992).

In recent years, though the obesity has been increasing in Indian populations, but the tribal and other poor communities who are undernourished are, however suffering from chronic energy deficiency. Hence, the present study has been undertaken to understand the prevalence of chronic energy deficiency and overweight, if any, in the post adolescent age of 18-28 years among the two tribal populations, the Sugalis and the Yanadis of Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh.

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MATERIAL AND METHODS

In India there are about 538 tribal populations scattered throughout the country and nearly 33 tribal groups are inhabiting in Andhra Pradesh. For the present study, the Sugalis and the Yanadis of Chittoor district of Andhra Pradesh are considered. By employing simple random technique the data have been drawn from both urban and rural areas for Yanadi. Because of the non-availability of the Sugali in urban sector, the data for this tribe restricted to rural area only. The sample for Sugali is drawn from four villages, Ragalavaripalli Kotha Bidiki,Ramanayakula Thanda, Setti Palli Bidiki and Sugali Mitta. While the sample for urban Yanadi is from Tirupati town but for the rural Yanadi is drawn from three villages, Nagulacheruvu, Chaitanyapuram and Gopalakrishnapuram. A total of 540 individuals comprised for the present study, of which 162 are Sugalis (Male= 84; Female=78), 165 are urban Yanadis (Male=81; Female=84) and 213 are rural Yanadis (Male=102; Female=111).

The following is the brief socio-cultural background of the Sugali and Yanadi tribes

SUGALI. The Sugalis are a pastoral community of Andhra Pradesh. They are locally called as Lambadi and Sugalollu. The Indo-Aryan language, Banjara, is spoken by them at home, while Telugu is spoken with others. The Sugali women wear a variety of ornaments while the men wear headgear. Payment of bride price (Oli) in cash was prevalent in the past. Of late, dowry is being paid in cash. They follow the patrilocal rule of residence after marriage. Divorce is permissible and either can initiate the proceedings and their community council (Kula Panchayat) is the sanctioning authority. Remarriages are allowed for the divorced and widowed persons of either sex. Sororate is allowed but not levirate. Nuclear families are predominant in the community. The Sugali women take part in agricultural operations. Cattle rearing and animal husbandry contribute substantially to the family income. Most of the Sugalis lead a pastoral life and also work as agricultural labourers while some have started petty business. A good number of them have joined Government jobs. The Sugali council, Kulapanchayat, headed by some elders of the community is responsible for maintaining social control.

YANADI

The Yanadis were notified as a criminal tribe during colonial rule, but are denotified after independence. Thurston (1909) suggested that they derived their name from the Sanskrit word anadi, which

means whose origin is unknown. The Yanadis are broadly divided into four endogamous sub-groups on the basis of occupations and dietary habits. The main divisions are (1). Reddy Yanadi (cultivators and servants in the houses of Reddis, an upper caste of Andhra Pradesh State), (2). Adavi Yanadis (those living in forests), (3). Paki Yanadis (scavengers) and (4). Challa Yanadis (collectors of left-out food from leaf plates in the dust bins). The Paki Yanadis and Challa Yanadis are given very low social status among the Yanadi tribe. The Paki and Challa Yanadis are more primitive than the other groups. The Yanadis are traditional inland fishermen and watchers in the fields of upper castes. Their settlements are generally found on canal and tank bunds. Bride price as well as dowry system are in vogue among these people. Remarriages are allowed for the divorced and widowed persons of either sex. Nuclear families are predominant. Generally the newly married couple establish their own separate household. The president of their statutory village council plays an important role in settling the disputes. He also acts as a liaison between the dwellers of a colony and government institutions and officials. The Yanadis profess a mixture of Hinduism and their indigenous religion.

ANTHROPOMETRY

The anthropometric measurement like, height and weight, are recorded following Lohman et al (1988). Body weight is measured to the nearest 0.1 kg with portable weighing machine with the subject wearing light clothes and no shoes and height to the nearest 0.1 cm with anthropometer. Body Mass Index (BMI) is calculated as weight (kg) divided by height squared (m^2) The classification of underweight, overweight and obesity in adults according to BMI is shown table 1 (WHO, 1998). However the underweight (chronic energy deficiency) is categorised into three grades as I, II and III based on body mass index of 17.0 – 18.4, 16.0 – 16.9 and <16.0 kg/m^2, respectively as mild, moderate and severely deficient, respectively (Ferro-Luzzi et al., 1992).

Table 1 :
Classification of underweight, overweight and obesity in adults according to Body Mass Index

Classification		BMI (kg/m2)	
Underweight (CED)		< 18.5	
	Grade I	17.0-18.4	Mild
	Grade II	16.0-16.9	Moderate
	Grade III	< 16.0	Severe
Normal range		18.5 – 24.9	
Overweight			
	Pre-obese	25.0 – 29.9	
	Obese class I	30.0 – 34.9	
	Obese class II	35.0 - 39.9	
	Obese class	≥ 40.0	

RESULTS

The descriptive statistics for height, weight and body mass index is presented in table 2.

Table 2.
Mean + S.D. for age and anthropometric measurements in two tribal populations.

	Sugali		Urban Yanadi		Rural Yanadi	
	Men (n=84)	Women (n=78)	Men (n=81)	Women (n=84)	Men (102)	Women (n=111)
Age	24.46 ± 3.12	22.46 ± 3.25	20.96 ± 2.72	22.04 ± 3.13	23.94 ± 3.30	23.62 ± 2.93
Height	161.82 ± 6.21	153.58 ± 4.23	161.83 ± 4.17	147.92 ± 5.09	162.78 ± 6.53	151.20 ± 5.19
Weight	49.54 ± 5.95	44.77 ± 4.41	46.60 ± 5.37	43.11 ± 6.13	46.26 ± 7.00	37.69 ± 4.38
BMI	19.00 ± 2.77	19.04 ± 2.25	17.80 ± 1.96	19.71 ± 2.71	17.40 ± 1.95	16.50 ± 1.87

On an average the height of males in both the tribes measures 161 cm while that for the women it is 153 cm in Sugalis and 151 cm rural Yanadis and the mean height is lower for urban Yanadi women with 148 cm. The mean weight for men in both the populations is in between 45 and 50 kg while that for the women it is below 45 kg. The mean body mass index (BMI) of men on an average is 18 kg/m^2 in both the populations while in women it is lower in rural Yanadis and higher in Sugalis.

The prevalence of underweight (chronic energy deficiency) and overweight in Sugalis, urban Yanadis and rural Yanadis are presented in table 3.

Table 3.
Prevalence of chronic energy deficiency (CED) and overweight in two tribal populations

	Sugali		Urban Yanadi		Rural Yanadi	
	Men (n=84)	Women (n=78)	Men (n=81)	Women (n=84)	Men (102)	Women (n=111)
CED Grade I	36 (42.9)	27 (34.6)	36 (44.4)	12 (14.3)	39 (38.2)	30 (27.0)
Grade II	3 (3.6)	6 (7.7)	9 (11.1)	9 (10.7)	18 (17.6)	21 (18.9)
Grade III	9 (10.7)	3 (3.8)	15 (18.5)	9 (10.7)	24 (23.5)	45 (40.5)
Normal range	30 (35.7)	42 (53.8)	21 (25.9)	54 (64.3)	21 (20.6)	15)13.5)
Over weight	6 (7.1)	-	-	-	-	-

Note : Figures in parentheses indicate percentages

SUGALI

About 57% of men and 46% of women suffer from CED. The percentage of grade I, grade II and grade III CED are 43.4 and 11 in men and 35.8 and 4 in women, respectively. Whereas about 36% of men and 54% of women have normal BMI values. The percentage of overweight is only 7% in men. No women have normal BMI values. The percentage of overweight is only 7% in men. No women is found under overweight category.

URBAN YANADI

The prevalence of CED is 74% in men and 36% in women. About 44%, 11% and 19% of men and 14%, 11% and 11% of women are found under grades I, II and III chronic eneergy deficiency categories, respectively. However, the remaining about 26% of men and 64% of women have normal BMI values. No individual is observed is overweight category.

RURAL YANADI

The prevalence of CED is highest among the rural Yanadis with about 80% in men and 86% in women. About 38%, 18% and 24% of men and 27%, 19% and 40% of women are found under grade I, grade II and grade III chronic energy deficiency categories, respectively. Only about 20% and 14% of men and women, respectively have normal BMI values. Here also, no subject is observed under overweight category.

DISCUSSION

Overall, both the populations are suffering from high prevalence of CED. Comparatively, the rural Yanadis suffer from highest percentage of CED. This could be due to their poor economic condition. Most of the rural Yanadis are either agricultural labours or watchers of the land of upper caste people and some of them are rat and snake catchers. So, they don't have any fixed economy. Hence they can not afford to take nutritious diet. This may be the reason for high prevalence of CED. Unlike rural Yanadis some of the urban Yanadis are employed in Municipality as scavengers and sweepers. Very few of them are rickshaw pullers and daily wage labours. The economic position of the urban Yanadis is better than rural ones. Hence comparatively low prevalence of CED. On the other hand, the Sugalis are involved in agriculture and have small extent of own land. Compared to both urban and rural Yanadis the economic position of Sugalis is better. Hence the low prevalence of CED.

Though in recent years, obesity appears to be an emerging problem in the socio-economically affluent populations (Nirmala Reddy, 1998) CED continuous to be a problem in poor communities (Naidu and Rao, 1994). The results of the present study highlights that, not only the rural communities suffer from

CED but the people live in urban sector with low income levels are also no exception to this high percentage of CED. Much funds are allotted by governmental and non-governmental agencies to develop health, education and economic status of the tribal populations to upgrade the standard of their living but in reality tribal development schemes are not helpful to them. Thus. the success of tribal development should be judged not in terms of funds allotted for such schemes, but it should be assessed by the positive achievements attained in the direction of social transformation. As such voluntary agencies, could play a useful role in raising the socio-economic status of the tribal population. Hence, necessary steps are advocated to eradicate CED among these tribal populations.

CONCLUSIONS

The present study help to locate the present CED among the two tribal populations, the Sugalis and Yanadis who are put to different walks of life, as urban city dwellers, rural labour, partially agriculturists and pastorals. The prevalence of chronic energy deficiency is more. among the rural Yanadis compared to urban Yanadis and Sugalis. Further this study reveals, the role of economy as the factor in determining the body mass index.

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PROBLEMS OF TRIBAL YOUTH BENEFICIARIES UNDER TRYSEM PROGRAMME

Dhane A.V.*, Dhane V.P**. and Deshmukh A.B.***

India is highly populous country and ranks second in the world with a population of 102.37 crores (Census, 2001), accounting for about 16 percent of the world's population. The country is faced with a plethora of problems because of this excessive population pressure, the problem of unemployment being one of the serious problems marring the development of the country. The problem of unemployment has been of particular significance among the youth (educated or otherwise), accounting to about 40 percent of the total population of the country. The Government has taken a number of steps to tackle the problem of the burgeoning unemployment especially among the rural youth. The Training of Rural Youth for Self Employment (TRYSEM) was launched in August, 1975 as an important programme with the objective of providing the rural youth from families below the poverty line with training and technical skills to enable them to take up self-employment.

The tribals account for a sizeable population of the country i.e. 8.08 per cent, while the State of Maharashtra has a total tribal population of about 73.8 lakh, account for 9.27 percent of the population of the State. The tribal population of Ambegaon block, a predominantly backward area in Pune district is to the tune of 39,066 accounting for 20.91 percent of the total population of the block. Since the inception of the TRYSEM programme in the block from 1982-83, a large number of tribal youth have benefited from the said programme as a source and means to obtain self employment. These tribals-youth beneficiaries are likely to face a number of problems in availing the benefits under the TRYSEM programme. The present study is therefore undertaken with the following specific objectives.

1. To determine the nature and extent of problems faced by the tribal youth beneficiaries in availing the benefits under the TRYSEM programme.

2. To obtain the suggestions from the tribal youth beneficiaries for effective implementation of TRYSEM programme.

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METHODOLOGY

The present study was conducted in the Ambegaon block of Pune district. A list of all the 175 TRYSEM programme tribal youth beneficiaries from 33 villages during the period 1991 to 1996 was obtained from Panchayat Samiti, Ambegaon. Out of these, sixteen villages were selected randomly and all the tribal youth beneficiaries from these villages were selected as the respondents for the study. The data from the selected respondents were collected by specially designed interview schedule. The various problems experienced by tribal youth beneficiaries and the suggestions given by them for effective implementation of the TRYSEM programme were collected by formulating relevant statements. Simple percentage was worked out to determine the problems and suggestions given by the tribal youth beneficiaries.

FINDINGS

1. Problems faced by the tribal youth beneficiaries:

The problems faced by tribal youth beneficiaries were grouped into various categories viz. Problems during training, during employment, during starting of business and during availing of credit. The findings so obtained are presented below;

a) Problems during training:

The various problems faced by the tribal youth beneficiaries during training are presented in Table-1.

Table – 1

Problems faced by the tribal youth beneficiaries during the training programme.

Sr. No	Particular about problem	No.	Percent (n = 110)
1	Unavailability of lodging and boarding facilities at training place	88	80.00
2.	Obsolete training	81	73.63
3.	Meagre and untimely stipend	66	60.00
4.	Inconvenient training place	66	60.00
5.	Poor quality training imparted	55	48.18
6.	Unavailability of adequate number of instructors	39	35.45
7.	Very late selection for training	24	21.81
8.	Educational materials used were not upto the mark	04	03.63

The data from Table-1 reveal that a large majority (80.00 percent) of the tribal youth beneficiaries reported problems like unavailability of hostel facilities at training centre, followed by obsolete training (73.63 percent) meagre and untimely disbursement of stipend (60.00 per cent) and inconvenient training place (60.00 percent). About half 48.18 percent) of the tribal youth beneficiaries opined that training imparted was of poor quality. Shripathi (1989) reported short duration of course as a major problem faced by TRYSEM beneficiaries, while Soundara pandian (1991) reported inadequate training period non-availability of training centres under the administrative department and poor co-ordination among the block officials, bank officials and officials of training centres as the major problems.

b) Problems during employment:

The problems faced by the tribal youth beneficiaries during employment are presented in Table-2

Table – 2

Problems faced by the tribal youth regarding employment

Sr. No	Particulars about problem	No.	Percent (n = 29)
1	Unavailability of adequate employment opportunities	11	37.93
2.	Unavailability of permanent employment	09	31.03
3.	Unavailability of adequate wages	11	37.93
4.	Availability of employment away from native place	06	20.68
5.	Wages not paid in time	05	17.24

The data from Table-2 reveal that more than one-third (37.93 percent) of the respondents expressed problems like unavailability of adequate employment and wages, followed by problems like unavailability of permanent employment (31.03 percent) and employment at the large distance from native place (20.68 percent)

c) Problems during starting business :

The problems encountered by the tribal youth beneficiaries during starting business are presented in Table – 3

Table – 3:

Problems faced by the tribal youth in starting new business

Sr. No	Particulars about problem	No.	Percent (n = 35)
1	Inadequate knowledge and skill	23	65.71
2.	Unavailability of adequate investment	18	51.42
3.	Unavailability of proper site	06	17.14
4.	Unavailability of source and facilities for self employment	04	11.42

The data from Table-3 shows that about two-third (65.71 percent) of the respondents expressed problems of inadequate knowledge and skills, while more than half (51.42 percent) of the tribal youth beneficiaries expressed the problem of inadequate investment in business. A very few tribal youth beneficiaries stated the problem of unavailability of proper site (17.14 percent) and unavailability of various resources for starting business (11.42 percent). Similar results were reported by Mundra and Kothari (1992) who reported lack of confidence, lack of money, non availability of marketing facilities and lack of raw materials as the major problems for non-acceptance of self employment by the women beneficiaries.

d) Problems about credit:

The problems experienced by the tribal youth beneficiaries regarding credit are presented in Table – 4.

Table – 4

Problems faced by the tribal youth beneficiaries in availing credit facilities

Sr. No	Particulars about problem	No.	Percent (n = 110)
1	Delay in sanctioning credit	41	37.27
2.	Difficulty in meeting the documentary requirement for availing credit	40	36.36
3.	Unavailability of adequate information for availing credit	40	36.36
4.	Total credit not available at one time	39	34.45

Sr. No	Particulars about problem	No.	Percent (n = 110)
5.	Unavailability of adequate information of credit institutions	37	33.63
6.	Subsidy amount is very less	35	31.81
7.	Unavailability of proper guaranteer	29	26.36
8.	High interest rates	29	26.26
9.	Very short credit repayment period	24	21.81

The data from Table –4 reveal that more than one third of the tribal youth beneficiaries expressed problems in availing credit facilities viz. Delay in sanctioning credit (37.27 per cent), difficulty in getting documents and unavailability of credit at one time (34.45 per cent) and lack of information about credit institutions (33.63 per cent). Problems of unavailability of proper guaranteer and high rate of interest were reported by 26.36 per cent of the tribal youth beneficiaries. The TRYSEM beneficiaries as reported by Anuradha and Sinha (1985) and Soundarapandian (1991) also faced a number of credit problems.

1. Suggestions of tribal youth beneficiaries:

The suggestions from the tribal youth beneficiaries for effective implementation of the TRYSEM programme are presented in Table 5.

Table – 5

Suggestions of tribal youth beneficiaries regarding TRYSEM programme

Sr. No	Particulars of suggestions	No.	Percent (n = 110)
1	Stipend be increased and distributed timely	77	70.00
2.	Instructors imparting training be skilled and trained	40	36.36
3.	Sophisticated machinery and tools be available	48	43.63
4.	Lodging and boarding facilities be available	86	78.18

Sr. No	Particulars of suggestions	No.	Percent (n = 110)
5.	Credit be provided	18	16.36
6.	Procedure for availing credit be simplified	39	34.45
7.	Interest rate on credit be reasonable	24	21.81
8.	Subsidy on credit be increased	35	31.81
9.	Basic amenities be provided on priority basis at the place of self employment	13	11.81
10	Requirement of guaranteer and mortgage be avaoided	29	26.36
11	Raw material be provided	-	-
12	Cost of raw material be reasonable	-	-
13	Finished products be purchased through Government agencies	14	12.72

The data from Table-5 reveal that a large majority of the tribal youth beneficiaries suggested that the lodging and boarding facilities be provided at training place (78.18 percent) and that stipend be raised and be distributed timely (70.00 percent). More than one third of the tribal youth beneficiaries suggested that sophisticated tools and machinery be provided during training (46.63 percent), instructors imparting training be skilled and trained (36.36 percent) and procedure for availing credit be simplified (34.45 percent). The other principle suggestions made by the tribal youth beneficiaries include increase in subsidy on credit (31.81 percent) and avoidance of requirement of guaranteer and mortgage (26.36 percent). Singh (1989) reported suggestions like trainees be trained with the latest skills and tools and supply and marketing of raw materials be made available at district level, while Mundra and Kothari (1992) noted suggestions regarding providing necessary facilities of credit, marketing and supply of raw materials.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The results of the study indicate that the tribal youth beneficiaries experience a number of problems during training (training, low stipend etc), during employment (inadequate employment and wages etc), during starting business (inadequate knowledge

and skills and inadequate investment etc) and about credit (delay in credit, cumbersome procedure etc). The tribal youth beneficiaries made a number of suggestions for effective implementation of the TRYSEM programme, the principle among them being proper lodging and boarding facilities during training, higher stipend, proper training and simplification of credit availing procedure.

It can, therefore, be suggested that officials concerned with implementation of the TRYSEM programme should see to it that maximum number of tribal youth should be given good quality training for a sufficient long duration so as to instill a sense of self-confidence among them. It is also suggested that all trainees be provided with all the necessary and basic facilities at the training centre, proper tool kit, higher stipend etc. so as to attract more and more youths towards the TRYSEM programme. Periodical evaluation of the TRYSEM programme be carried out to find out the shortcomings and to find the loopholes, if any for the effective implementation of the programme. The stringency in meeting the documentary requirements be done away, so that the beneficiaries could have easy access to credit.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON CHILDHOOD RITUALS AMONG THE MUNDAS OF EASTERN INDIA

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Human beings are social animal. Their life process is intimately articulated with the social rules and regulations. Different types of significant rituals are observed in different stages of human life span. Various types of crisis appear in different stages of life like birth, childhood, adolescence, adulthood, old age, death, etc. They always try to overcome all these crisis through some social rituals and with the help of supernatural beliefs. Those rituals help to proceed human life as well as the society as a whole. Arnold Van Gennep (1960) is probably the scholar who analysed the rituals of the rites of passage that help individuals through the crucial crises of their lives such as birth, puberty, marriage, parenthood and death. He defined rites-de-passage as "rites which accompany every change of place, state, social position and age"., Anthropologists classified another type of rituals which are rites of intensification, which take place during crises in the life of the group, serving to bind individual together, such as drought, flood, scarcity of food, devastating epidemics etc.

Besides this, some rituals also help to change the social status of human beings. Hence, Gluckman (1965) defined rituals as it "involves the change of a person's status while relating that person to the supernatural". Since rituals is associated with social transition, Guindi (1977) mentions the term "transformative" to explain ritual. For example "Chunnat" or circumcision is a very valuable ritual of Muslim society by which a male child gets the status of Muslim for lifelong. An unmarried person receives the marital status after performing marriage rituals.

The Mundas are one of the largest Scheduled Tribes and an endemic population of India. They are mainly found in the Chota Nagpur plateau and its adjoining areas of the newly founded state of

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Jharkhand. They are also found in West Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, and in Tripura. The Mundas are patrilocal community and they practise settled cultivation for their survival.

In Munda society there are various types of significant rituals observed from the very beginning of their life, by which they try to overcome different crisis and they change their social status too.

In the light of above discussion the present author proposes ;to present the data on the rituals namely Nartaora, Sakhing and Tukuilutur and tries to interpret such ritualistic performances of the Mundas inhabiting in four villages named Shyamtarangi, Dulipukur, Debpukur and Jalipadima under Narayangarh block and police station, Medinipur Sub Division in the district of Medinipur, West Bengal.

NARTAORA

After a child birth the mother and the child are considered ceremonially unclean for eight days. On the ninth day of the child birth a purificatory ceremony is observed. This is known as Nartaora. On that day the whole house and the courtyard are cleaned by cow-dung paste. The near relatives are invited on that day. A Nawa (Barber) is invited from the neighbouring Munda village Hirapari to pare the nails of the child and its mother. As they live in multiethnic locality surrounded by many Hindu caste villages now days they also invite a Dhopa (washerman) to perform the ceremony.

At first the Nawa pares the nail of little finger of right hand of the child and then the child takes bath and puts on a new cloth. The clothes are presented by the parent's house of child's mother. Its mother and other members of the family also get their nails pared by the Nawa. Then the mother goes to a village pond for taking bath accompanied by other females of the village. They all get their nails pared on that spot, and take bath as a purificatory rite.

Generally a male member of each family of the village visit that house to get their nails pared and for a shave of their beard for the purification of their own family. The Munda believe that the whole village becomes polluted by a child birth. So each family gives a cloth to the Dhopa (washerman) for purification from the pollution. For their work the Nawa and the Dhopa receive some quantity of rice, money and a pot of Illi (rice beer).

SIGNIFICANCE

Nartaora is a purificatory ritual. Of late, a lot of changes have been noticed in the performance of the rite from the traditional customs of the Munda inhabiting in Choto Nagpur area

observed by Roy (1912). But a child birth is a social crisis because it is believed that the whole village becomes polluted through a child birth, and Nartaora is the only ritual which helps to overcome this crisis.

Besides, the new born baby is not considered as a Munda at first. Through the Nartaora ritual a new born child enters into the threshold of the Munda society as a social being, and the child achieves a new status in the society. It is believed that from that day the child gets all the responsibility and privileges from the society and the individuals is also considered as a full fledged member of their society. It is also believed that through this ceremony the child enters into a new relationship with Sing Bonga (Supreme deity).

SAKHING

On the next day of Nartaora, i.e. on the tenth day of the child birth Sakhing ritual or name giving ceremony is performed.

In this ritual the lineage members of the head of the family as well as villagers are invited. Mother's brother or any member of that family is specifically invited on this occasion.

In the early morning, just after sunrise the courtyard is smeared with cow dung paste. And a specific site is selected for the performance of the ritual. A female member of the family takes bath and draws three vermilion marks on that place by the middle finger of her right hand in the name of three Gods namely, Sing Bonga (Sun God), Garam (Village deity) and Bakshi Basumata (mother earth). She marks those spots facing towards the east as it is the direction of the Sun God. Then she puts a bowl of water on that place before the assembled guests in the courtyard. Then a man or woman drops two sunned rice grains and a grass in the bowl. The grass represents Dharam God and the other two grains represent child and the man or woman who wants to be a Sakhi (who wants to give the name). If two grains do not sink but float and meet each other then that name of the child, which has been announced is approved. If it does not, the water of the bowl is changed and another grains with another name is dropped on the water, and this process continues until the two grains meet each other for the approval of the name.

After the matching of the grains the bowl of water is poured over the head of another child (male) assuming him to be the new born baby (son) for la baby girl a girl child is needed to perform the ritual.

SIGNIFICANCE

The person who gives the name is called Sakhi of the child, which is an enduring relationship and when the child grows up he/she addresses his/her Sakhi not by the regular kinship term but as Sakhio. After this ritual

the Sakhi becomes a guardian of that child. So the person occupies a specific role in the society to look after the child.

TUKULUTUR

The first day of Magh is the day which indicates the first day of the year in Munda calendar. It is just the next day of Poush Sankranti. On the Poush Sankranti day they prepare pitha (rice cake) and on the next day they celebrate as Tukuilutur (ear-piercing ceremony). This ceremony generally takes place at the age of three or five or seven years (odd age) of the child.

All the villagers are invited for this ceremony. In the morning of that day the villagers attend the ceremony with a pot of new grain.

In the morning of that day a place of the courtyard of that house is smeared with cow-dung paste. A design is made with the paste of the sunned rice. The child is bathed and dressed in new clothes. A quantity ranging from 5 to 6 kg. of new rice grain are kept ;on the selected spot. The villagers add their pot of rice grain with that rice grain. Then a wooden plank locally known as "Pidha" is placed upon the grains. The child sits on that plank. That plank is also designed with the paste of sunned rice.

Two female members of the family stand on the two sides of the child with cakes made of rice flour kept in a winnowing fan. Two male members (preferably grand father, uncle, elder brother, maternal uncle) sit at the two sides of the child. They hold kansi (ear-pins) made of brass or silver. The rite starts with the piercing the ears of the child by the men. When the ears get pierced, the persons standing with cakes in their hand throw them over the crowd, who collect the cakes.

The person who stands with white cock or with a red hen (depending on the sex of the child) moves around the child in an anti clock direction (in case of white cock-for a male child) or clock wise (in case of red hen - for a female child) and strikes the head of the cock or hen on the floor. After striking the head, the blood of the cock or hen is smeared on the ears of the child. They also apply sindur (vermilion) on the ears. They believe that this will prevent infection of the ears. All the elder members of family and the village smear some mustered oil on the head of the child with benediction, and also apply the same with benediction on the head of younger ones.

At last that cock or hen is cooked with rice and persons present there are offered that Kichudi (hotch potch) with Illi (rice beer).

The parents of the child debar themselves from eating the Kichudi as they believe that this may harm their child.

SIGNIFICANCE

Through this ceremony a child enters into the boyhood and the child gets the ability to work

towards adulthood.

The above note is not contemplated to assess the entire set of rituals that are connected with the early life of an individual rather this is an introductory phase of the performance of rites connected with birth in a post birth situation. Through these rituals the society not only gets an avenue for interaction but also there bring state of announcement of child birth thus confirming cohesiveness and corporateness of the society.

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PLANT PROTECTION : INDIGENOUS TECHNOLOGY KNOWLEDGE OF MELGHAT TRIBALS IN INDIA

*P.O.Ingle and **M.K.Rathod

INTRODUCTION

India is one of the fast developing countries where, people are intensely going towards the modernisation by adopting new technologies of agriculture and different fields. But, the tribals in India are very much caught by illiteracy, ignorance, blind faith, voodoosim and love for traditional way of life. India constitutes about 8.01 percent of tribal population (1991 census) which is mainly concentrated on hills and dense forest areas. Agriculture is the main occupation of the Indian tribals.

Melghat is the well-known tribal area in India where, Korku tribe is prominent. In some villages Gond and Bhilala tribes also constitute the tribal population. Tribal villages in the Melghat are located in the forest and hills of Satpuda ranges. These tribals follow the traditional methods of agriculture and allied areas and mostly use indigenous technical knowledge for cultivating their fields.

In the way of increasing production of crops, farmers in India mostly follow the improved methods of plant protection in which chemicals and other mechanical means are used. But, the tribes of Melghat are not so far influenced by the improved technologies and they protect their crops by using indigenous technology knowledge.

ITK in Melghat tribals was identified under the project of identification and documentation of ITK in Melghat area. Descriptive research design namely exploratory design has been used for this purpose. Near about 150 veteran tribals farmers from 30 remote villages were interviewed. By using Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technique information was also collected by non-participants observation, field visits, discussion and secondary data available with the developmental department.

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PLANT PROTECTION

Chemical Plant Protection

i) Use of ash for controlling the aphids and hairy caterpillar on Beans and Brinjals is a common indigenous practice. Ash helps to arrest the movements of the caterpillar. According to the scientists the ash prevents the respiration of aphids as it; covers the body of insects and hence the insects are controlled. Although there is no exact quantitative parameters to use ash, approximately 15 to 20 kg ash is used for one acre of crop. Usually cow dung ash is preferred.

ii) The tribals also have a unique indigenous practice for disease control in chilli (blight), 1 lit urine of the cow is mixed with half-lit of cow milk and half lit. of butter milk and is spread on chilli crop. It is eco-friendly and pollution free.

iii) Some tribals use the extract of hingan bet (Balaniyes aegyptica) a forest tree. Dried fruits are crushed and soaked in water over night and extract obtained is spread on chilli to control the insects mainly jasids.

MECHANICAL PLANT PROTECTION

1. Lodan

A bamboo device; called as lodan is used for birds scaring. Approximately 6 ft. long vertically cut in two parts without detaching the parts at the broad end (Rattle type). It is then tied to five feet wooden pole fixed in the field. The upper half of the bamboo is attached to 30 to 40 m. bamboo rope, stretching from the hut. This rope is supported by some wooden poles with "V" shape upper ends in between. These poles help the rope slide backward and forward very easily. A person sitting in the hut pulls the rope to obtain the strike of the two halves of the bamboo placed in the field producing very big and typical sound, thereby scaring the birds. The bamboo strip or the rope also acts as the reflector and hence helps in scaring the birds to some extent.

It seems that the modern film strips have also been introduced now a days for this purpose.

2. Handors

The tribals prepare the scaring devices of difference types using the bamboo. Bamboo strips are used to prepare *Handor*. Different shapes and sizes are prepared and put in the fields. The *Handors* prepared

Gadchiroli district. There is undoubtedly a need to initiate systematic efforts for collecting the traditional practice from all the tribal settlement, so that these could be catalogued for wider use. The documented indigenous agricultural and allied knowledge may be taken up by the research system to develop ecologically compatible and socially acceptable technologies-for wider adoption among tribal farmers after its validation scientifically so as to blend this indigenous knowledge with modern technology for its wider adoption among the Madia tribal farmers for sustainable agriculture.

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IDENTIFICATION AND DOCUMENTATION OF INDIGENOUS ARICULTURAL KNOWLEDGE POSSESSEDBY MADIA TRIBAL FARMERS

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INTRODUCTION

Indigenous knowledge refers to the traditional agricultural knowledge which is carried over from generation to generation by interaction of members of a social system. It is acquired by local people through accumulation of experiences, informal experiments, and intimate understanding of environment in a given culture (Anonymous, 20000). The concept of indigenous knowledge is reflected in the definition of Loise Greneirs. He defines indigenous knowledge as the unique, traditional and local knowledge as existing within and development around specific condition of women and men indigenous to a particular geographical area. Indigenous knowledge is dynamic. It is the continuous process of experimentation, innovation and adoption which enables itself to blend with science and technology as well. Indigenous knowledge plays an important role in conservation of biodiversity. It is vital information which is solely diminishing at an alarming rate as the population of Veteran farmers who possess indigenous knowledge is not going to last long. These people form an important source of indigenous knowledge. It was, therefore, thought appropriate to identify the indigenous agricultural knowledge from the Veteran tribal farmers and document it in the form of inventory so that its blending with the modern technology for its improvement would be more useful for adoption by them.

Tribal agriculture is characterized by small size of farms, fragmented lands, non availability of irrigation, lack of technological know-how and modern inputs. Tribals in India and all over the world are closely associated with nature and happen to be a large resource of monitory investment and

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implementation of various Tribal Development Schemes. The tribes had not moved much towards development. They are still adopting traditional/local practices of crop production.

The tribal communities are inhabited in forest and hilly areas and most of them are small farmers and labourers. Tribal farmers are governed by religious beliefs and are traditional in nature, as a result they are following native farming practices using indigenous knowledge of farming system. Indigenous knowledge play a pivotal role in sustainable agriculture which is economically sound and ecofriendly. It has thus necessitated to guard local wisdom and consider many traditional valuable practices, prevalent among the tribal farmers.

The present investigation is thus a maiden attempt in this direction. Accordingly this investigation was planned and carried out with the following objective.

SPECIFIC OBJECTIVE OF INVESTIGATION :

To identify and document the indigenous agricultural knowledge prevalent among madia tribal farmers.

METHODOLOGY :

The present study was carried out in Gadchiroli district of Maharashtra State in India. The study was mainly confined to Etapalli Panchayat Samiti. For identification of indigenous agricultural practices, 10 remote villages situated far away from the modernized area and which are traditionally bound were purposely selected. One hundred Veteran Madia Gond tribal farmers of age above 50 years were contacted and interviewed individually, as well as their group discussion were also held to tap or identify the indigenous agricultural knowledge. In some case, the help of interpreter, mostly the school going children, was sought in establishing rapport and having dialogue to elicit their response to record the indigenous knowledge possessed by them.

FINDINGS :

The indigenous agricultural and allied knowledge possessed by Madia tribal farmers was assessed and documented, as follows.

INDIGENOUS AGRICULTURAL KNOWLEDGE :

1. Collecting and burning crop residues and farm waste in the field itself.

2. Following the "Rab" method while raising the seedling of paddy in nursery bed.

3. Folding of sheep in the field during night hours.

4. Putting leaves of Garali (Cleistanthus collinus) at the time of puddling the field and then transplanting of paddy seedling.

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5. Following "Molka" method of sowing paddy seeds by broadcasting sprouted seeds in the paddled fields.

6. Putting leaves of Garali (Cleistanthus collinus), Salai (Boswellia serrata Roxb.), Kidmari (Aristolocia bractolata) in the paddy fields after 40-45 days of transplanting.

7. Spraying mechanically the leaves extract of castor (Ricinus Communisl) and Mohua flowers (Madhuca indica) on paddy crop.

8. Beating drum in the standing crop of paddy for scaring birds.

9. Pelting stone with the help of rope (Gophan) for scaring birds.

10. Fixing effigy in the centre of the field for scaring animals.

11. Making typical noise with the help of bamboo stick for scaring birds.

12. Harvesting matured crop and threshing by bullock cart or by bullock pairs.

13. Winnowing the threshed produce in the morning or evening by facing north south direction.

14. Storing paddy seeds in Dholi or Dindwa (containers) placing ash and neem leaves (Azadirachta indica) in it.

15. Putting Garali (cleistanthus collinus) and Salai (Boswellia serrata Roxb.) leaves in the stored paddy produce.

16. Tying the animals infected with foot disease in the hot soil mixed with Garali leaves.

17. Applying paste prepared with surund onion (Picrophiza curroa) and castor oil (Ricinus communis) against mouth ulcer of animal.

18. Applying paste prepared with curd and onion against salivation in case of mouth diseases.

19. Rubbing mixture of salt and urad seeds (Vigna mungo L.) on tongue of animals.

20. Feeding extract of Tamrind (Tamrinds indica), root of castor plant (Ricinus communosi) and surund onion (Picrophiza kurroa) against Tympany/blot disease.

21. Feeding extract of lendi (Lagerstroeriva parviflora), Bahera (Terminalia Bellarica) and Harada (Terminalia chebula) against diarrohea in animals.

22. For control of sprains/muscle damage giving hot-iron spot on that particular affected area.

23. Feeding of chaffed flowers and bark juice of maludmara (Withenia somnifera) against Agalactia in cow and buffalo.

CONCLUSION :

In all, 23 indigenous agricultural and allied practices were identified which were prevailing among the Madia tribe farming communities of

out of earthen pot like head of a man and clothed are commonly used in various other parts of the country. However, bamboo *handors* prepared by Melghat tribals are typical. Bamboo rings are also prepared to reflect the birds.

3. The tribals have very well understood the behavior of wild pigs. Wild pigs destroy crops on large scale. Hence the tribals have developed their own technique by providing bamboo fencing. It is reported that when the pigs come across any bracate at the height of their head (approx. 1.5 ft.) they return back. In view of this behavioral aspect the tribals prepare the bamboo compound putting two three horizontal bamboos approximately at the height of 1.5 ft. As soon as the head of pig touches the bamboo, the pig immediately go back.

4. Bamboo strips are also tied to the big trees where the birds usually gather and attack the field. By pulling the bamboo strip the branches of tree are shaken and thus the birds can be scared to protect the field from their attack.

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INDIGENOUS TECHNOLOGY KNOWLEDGE ABOUT SEEDS STORAGE AND MAINTAINING GENEPOOL BY TRIBALS OF MELGHAT, INDIA

P.O.Ingle* and M.K.Rathod **

INTRODUCTION

Inspite of available large number of modern technologies and recommendations evolved in the agricultural research institutes, a majority of Korku, Gond, Bhilala tribes in India are still dependent on ITK. They have developed their indigenous technologies mixing with the innovations. The farmers have been using indigenous practices suiting to their resources and agro climatic conditions and in some cases they have an edge over the technologies established through the research modern process.

Tribals of Melghat are living in the forest and hills of Satpuda. Agriculture is the main occupation of these tribals and they follow the traditional methods of cultivation. In spite of lot of work of Agriculture Department and NGO's in the area from last 35 years, majority tribals of Melghat are still not persuade the modern agricultural technologies. There are many high yielding and disease resistant varieties of crops present in the market. Agricultural Department and Tribal Development Department also give subsidy on the improved varieties seed but, most of the tribals use local varieties which is treated and stored indigenously by them.

The identification and documentation of ITK was undertaken in Melghat tribal area of Maharashtra State in India. For this purpose descriptive research design namely expiratory design has been used. ITK has its roots in cultural, social, economic and situational wisdom of the Melghat tribal and hence tribals and tribal women, local leaders and the development personnel were involved in the identification of the ITK by using participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technique. 150 veteran tribals from 30 remote, villages were interviewed. Information was also collected by non-participants observation, fields visits, discussion and secondary data available with the developmental department.

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SEED TREATMENT AND SEED STORAGE

i) The tribals have unique method of genetic resource management. They identify and harvest, healthy and fully matured cobs of sorghum and maize, pods of pigeonpea, chickpea, earheads of paddy, fruits of Brinjal, Bhendi, Tomato etc. are dried and preserved.

ii) The cobs of sorghum and maize are tied to bamboo in rows and then it is hanged above the cooking place i.e. chulha. The smoke helps to protect the seed from the pests. Such seed is removed from the cobs, 8-10 days prior to the sowing.

iii) Seed of cucumber is pasted on mud + dung walls. It help to keep the seed dry and insect and pest free, such practice has also been reported by Balsubramanium (1988) followed in Tamil Nadu under the name Kottai. Dung has the insecticidal and fungicidal properties and hence the seed is protected.

iv) Seed of pigeonpea and peas is stored by mixing preferably the cow dung ash or if cow dung ash is not available any other ash is used. It helps in protecting seeds from storegrain pests. Such practices has also been reported in other rural area also. The seeds of peas beans and bitter gourd are also stored by mixing ash. Ash helps to absorb the moisture and keeps the seeds dry and hence insect free. In Bangladesh most of the vegetable seeds are preserved by applying ash. Mixing of ash with the seed has been a common practice in semiarid region. Usually 1 kg. of ash is added to 20 kg. of seed (Balsubramanium 1988).

v) Cotton seed is rubbed with the cow dung and soil from ant hills, then dried and stored. It is reported that it makes the sowing easy and convenient as the cotton seed fuzz stick together due to the dung.

vi) Specially Korku tribes preserve the seed of chilli by putting it into a small pit dug inside the house and sealing it with the help of mud. It helps to increase the viability and keeping quality of the seed.

vii) The Korku apply deshi/mahua liquor, urine of the cow and the extract of Van Tulasi (Ocimam conum) to the seed of chickpea, it helps the protect the seeds from insect pests.

Urine has the antifungal properties and the wine contains alcohol, which sterilizes the seed surface which helps in storage of seed for long duration.

viii) In case of vegetable seed such as Ladies finger and Brinjal, the dried fruits are kept intact and are wrapped in a piece of cloth and hanged in the kitchen to the roof above chulha. It helps to keep the seed dry and free from insect pest.

Preservation of seeds without extracting from the fruits is common in most of the other rural areas also.

Mostly the tribals use their own seed and they are themselves the seed banks and traditional breeders/selectors of local gene pool. It is co-operative seed bank for exchange of seed. The tribals are successful in maintaining genetic, heterogeneity in crops.

It is observed that if the productivity of a particular seed is less in a given season, then that genetic material is rejected subsequently. In this way the tribals maintain the seeds of vigour and high productivity.

REFERENCE

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ADMINISTRATION OF IRDP IN PUNE DISTRICT

* Dr. Lakshiminarayana R. Tarodi,

In this article an attempt is made broadly to acquaint the reader with planning, financing and administration of IRDP, at the district level, Pune, with a view to help him understand how the different administrative units at the District are linked together in operationalising the IRD Programme. Within the conceptual framework it is attempted to evaluate the governmental efforts in uplifting the poorer of the poor i.e. Scheduled Tribes. The study tries to suggest some remedial measures, which will be beneficial in administering programmes for the poor.

PART I

IRDP is one of the experiments launched for uplifting the rural masses throughout the country. Its objective is to assist selected families below the poverty line in rural areas to rise above this line by taking up self employment ventures. The programme is implemented through District Rural Development Agency (DRDA) at the district level. DRDAs mainly focus on three programmes i.e. IRDP, TRYSEM and DWCRA. Though all the three programmes are inter related, for the purpose of this study, we concentrate on DRDA's role in IRDP only.

DRDA, Pune :

For the purpose of general administration, there is a governing body. Chairman of the body is the District Collector in Maharashtra. The Chief Executive Officer is the Chairman of DRDA[1] . The body consists of officials and non-officials. For day-to-day administration there is a Project Director who is a Senior Class I officer drawn from State cadre. For this post an official having administrative experiences at the block and district level is always preferred. The governing body should meet once in a quarter. Project Director, DRDA functions as Member-Secretary to this Body.

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Functions of DRDA

The DRDA is the overall in-charge of the planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the programme in the District. The functions of the DRDA include :

a. To keep the district level agencies, block level agencies informed of the basic parameters the requirements of the programme and the tasks to be performed by all these agencies.

b. To coordinate and oversee the surveys, preparation of perspective plans and Annual Action plans of the blocks and finally prepare a District plan.

c. To evaluate and monitor the programme to ensure its effectiveness.

d. To secure inter-sectoral & inter-departmental coordination and cooperation.

e. To give publicity to the achievements made under the programme and disseminate knowledge and build up awareness about the programme.

f. To send periodical returns to the State Government in the prescribed formats.[2].

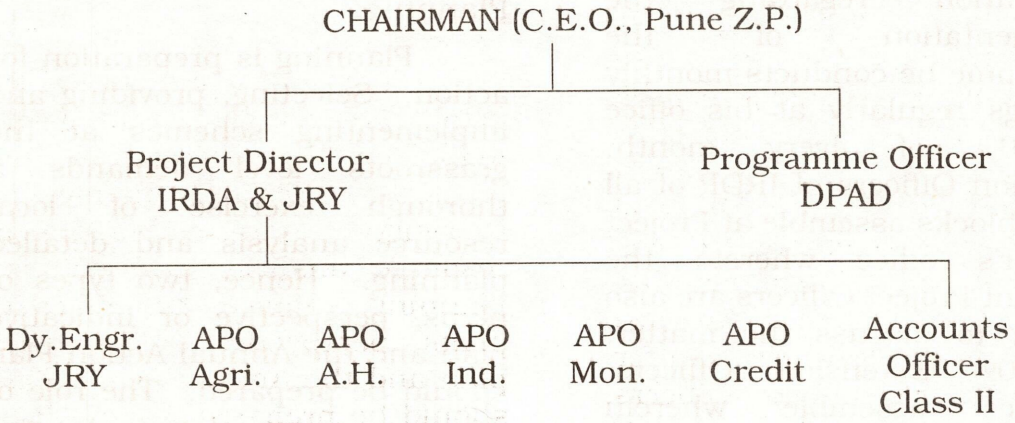
LAUNCHING OF IRDP IN PUNE DISTRICT;

As per the decision of the Government of Maharashtra, survey for identifying the BPL families in Pune district, was completed in the month of April 1982. The total number of BPL families in all the 13 blocks of the district was 1,53,409[3]. Out of these, till March 1995, 1,07,547 (old and new) BPL families were being assisted. Among those assisted include 9,936 scheduled Tribe families in the District. Out of 9936 assisted S.T. families, 7,427 (till the end of 1992-93) families (i.e. 74.74%) belonged to TSP area of Pune district[4]. Remaining 2,509 families or 25.25% assisted tribal families were spread over the whole district.

The total amount actually spends for assisting 95,743 families till the end of 1992-93 was Rs. 1,6893.04 lakhs[5]. Out of this an amount of Rs. 213,79 lakhs was spent on assisting 9,936 tribal families (data for 1981-82 and 1984-85 was not readily available). For assisting a total of 7,427 tribal families in TSP area i.e. Khed, Ambegaon and Junnar an amount of Rs. 167.01 lakhs or 78.11 percent out of Rs. 213.79 lakhs was spent.[6] The remaining amount i.e. Rs. 1469,25 lakhs were spent on 85,807 families till the end of 1992-93. In brief, out of the total amount i.e. 1,683.04 lakhs, on an average, am amount of Rs. 140.25 lakhs was spent per year since 1981-82 to the end of 1992-93 in Pune district. Naturally, this calls for a sound planning both physical and financial with an organizational structure to smoothly operate

the programme. Administrative set-up provided for Pune district for DRDA is as under :

ADMINISTRATIVE SET-UP



Office Superintendent, Investigators-2, Steno for Project Director-1, Deputy Accountant, Senior Accountant-1, Asstt. Accounts Officer-1, Senior Clerk-1, Stat. Assistant-1, Jr. Clerks-4

Role of the Project Director[7]

Project Director, DRDA is in overall charge of IRDP. He is basically an administrator and coordinator of the programme. It is his duty to see that the programme moves at an equal pace in all the blocks in the District. Since he has no staff for implementing the programme, he has to depend upon the block level bureaucratic machinery especially BDOs. And Extension Officers. In performing his duties he is assisted by 5 subject matter specialists known as Assistant Project Officers in the field of Agriculture, Animal husbandry, Industries, Monitoring and credit. He has also necessary clerical support to carry out his work. He is the main link between the State level administration and the District level administration. As such he serves as channel of communication between the state and the district by preparing various reports and sending them periodically to the State or Central Government and transmitting the policy decisions and guidelines of the governments (Central/State) to the District level functionaries i.e. Assistant Project Officers and guide the work of Extension Officers at the block level.

As per the decision of the State level Co-ordination Committee, annual budget

appropriation is distributed to the blocks by the Director. To watch the progress of each block and to remove bottlenecks and bring into notice any modification regarding the implementation of the programme he conducts monthly meetings regularly at his office on 10th of every month. Extension Officers of IRDP of all the 13 blocks assemble at Project Director's office wherein the Assistant Project Officers are also present to discuss the matter. On 20th Extension Officers, Statistics assemble wherein mainly physical and financial targets fixed for the block and actual achievements are discussed. On 30th Eos Industries attend the meetings. These meetings provide a forum for the EOS., APOs and the Project Director to pin point the problems, which are common, and also the unique difficulties, if any, experienced by EOS in implementing the programme. EOS can also learn from each other's experience in implementation. Moreover, this provides an opportunity to the Project Director, to send a word regarding the programme to the concerned BDOs so that the BDOs can perceive how the programme implemented in their block is perceived at the district level. This informal communication helps both the sides to appreciate each other's difficulties and iron out problems to the maximum extent possible. Since the Assistant Project Officers are also present at the meetings, Project Director can evaluate to what extent they are providing guidelines to the Eos.

Planning:

Planning is preparation for action. Selecting, providing and implementing schemes at the grassroots level demands a thorough exercise of local resource analysis and detailed planning. Hence, two types of plans, perspective or indicative plan and the Annual Action Plan should be prepared. The role of the perspective plan is to give indications about the local resources profile for preparation of Annual Action Plan.

After the perspective plan is drawn up and the beneficiaries are identified, the annual action plan should be drawn with a view to match the resource profile and the needs of the beneficiaries so that the beneficiaries may be provided with income generating activities.

However, when questioned, whether such a procedure was being followed, the Project Director, DRDA, Pune, observed that keeping in view the various parameters a BPL list was prepared in early 80's and the beneficiaries were identified. However, he admitted that no perspective plan was prepared.[8] Obviously there is no link between the potential resources of the area and that of human resources in the villages/houses.

This hampers integrated development. We consider an unwise that the IRDP was launched in Pune District without a sound perspective plan.

Annual Action Plan[9]

At the District level, there is a District Consultative Committee. This consists primarily of bankers, Project Director, DRDA and his staff, various implementing offices of the departments for the preparation of Annual District Credit Plan. Collector is the Chairman of this Committee, Vice-Chairman is the Regional Manager of lead Bank i.e. Bank of Maharashtra and the Project Director functions as the Member Secretary of the Committee. In this context, the Project Director, DRDA, Pune observed that the bankers discuss with BDOs the opportunities available in various sectors in their blocks and considering the aptitudes and skills of the potential beneficiaries the Annual Action Plan for the District is drawn up. This action plan, however, should be approved first by the governing body of DRDA and then by the State level Consultative Committee of Government of Maharashtra.[10] The SLCC reviews this plan with a view to confirming whether the plan prepared is justifiable by the local economic profile, existence of back-up support, forward linkages like markets and the distribution of activities, and, is not altered in favour of some easily distributable activities alone etc. For example, while releasing the Annual Action Plan for 1987, the then Collector and Chairman of DCC observed that the District Level Review Committee met on 22.12.1986 and discussed the proposals / allocations by sectorwise and activitywise thoroughly and proposed a suitable plan for 1987. While doing so, the Committee took into account the past performance, development programmes of various agencies and financial and manpower resources available with credit institutions. The plan so prepared was further discussed at DCC meeting on 29.12.1986.[11] In other words, sufficient care is taken in preparing District Credit Plan. Since the District Planning Officer is one of the members on the governing body of DRDA, he ensures that the programmes taken up by DRDA and District level implementation departments do not clash with each other.

Block Plan :

Since 1990 onwards Block Plan which is also known as Service Area Approach plan is launched in Pune district, so that the felt needs of the local area may be reflected in the plans prepared by the governmental machinery.[12] In

other words, grass roots planning was absent and the benefit of the same is realized lately by the Government of Maharashtra. In this context, B.D.Os. emphasized the need for micro-level planning.

Need for micro-level planning [13]

To improve the programme, BDO from Khed observed that targets should be chalked out at the block level and for this purpose micro level planning is necessary which should involve local voluntary organizations which will help the lead bank in the programme. At present targets for each block is fixed at DRDA Hq. i.e. Pune. But if this responsibility is totally vested in the block, programme may move very slowly, as the block officials are generally reluctant to shoulder more work. The realistic suggestion would be that the Director, DRDA in consultation with the block BDOs might fix the targets. This will help the DRDA office to see that promises made by each block are fulfilled in time.

Financing the programme:

Since IRDP is a centrally sponsored programme, funds from the Central Government were allocated to the States on 50 : 50 basis - uniformly according to the number of blocks in proportion to the percentage of families in below poverty line. The economic activities under the programme are financed through a package of subsidy and credit. In this context, the then Director, DRDA stated that due to special compaign regarding sponsoring, sanction and disbursement from quarter to quarter and month to month work is completed in time which helped in getting Central Government's subsidy amount to the tune of one crore. This did not take place last year.[14] In other words, due to relentless efforts and dynamism of the Director, RDA money was brought from the Central Government to meet subsidy requirements. This beyond doubt point out that dynamism and drive is very essential for the administrator heading an agency like RDA. The major part of the cost of projects comprising, the loan portion has to come through institutional credit. Funds for the expenditure on subsidy and other items related to administrative and infrastructural expenditure are provided in the budget of the Centre and the States.

IRDP fund is directly provided by the Government of India to the Government of Maharashtra on the recommendation of State level Consultative Committee. Hence RDA is not depending upon either for approval or for funding on any agency. One of the advantages of RDA is since it is a registered body, it has nonlapsible funds and can carry over the unspent money for the

succeeding years. However, the districts where ITDPs. are functioning, planning and funding for IRDP beneficiaries require some more exercise from the governmental machinery. As Pune District has three blocks where tribals live in large number and have an Integrated Tribal Development Project (at Sal) let us take into consideration planning and funding for ITDP area.

Planning for the Tribals :

In a district where tribal population is in considerable number, for plan purpose, the district is divided into two parts. In the first part, IRDP is put into practice wherein population is mostly non-tribal, and, in the second wherein tribals are in large number ITDP is put into operation. In the IRDP the emphasis is on human resource development with the assumption that infrastructure development is already there. In the ITDP area emphasis is on infrastructure development, as without infrastructure development human resource development cannot take place. In this context, the then Director pointed out that area approach is better than human resource development. While clarifying he pointed out that area approach should come first then one can think of human resource development.[15]

Funding of IRDP in Tribal (ITDP) Areas:

Funds from the State Government through Tribal Development Department are released to DRDAs in the State for implementing IRDP. The Project Director, DRDA, Pune channels this fund to BDOs in TSP area i.e. Khed, Ambegaon and Junnar and Project Officer ITDP at Sal is intimated. This Special Executive Committee of District Planning and Development Council reviews all the programmes monitored by the Project Officer for tribal development.

Project Officer at Sal, is expected to take up only those schemes provided under the Government of Maharashtra. If a bank refuse to lend loan to a tribal beneficiary such a beneficiary can obtain loan from the Project Officer ITDP if he is living in the TSP area. DRDA sanctions only the subsidy amount. Project Officer ITDP is a member of all the Departmental Committees at the district level. He is on the governing body of DRDA and the subject Committees of Zilla Parishad. He puts forth the proposals in these meetings and obtains approval for the same. Generally, applications of tribal beneficiaries is sanctioned in the following manner :

Initially, the applications

from ST category are sponsored by the VLWs of the village concerned through BDOs office and sent to the banks. If the banks reject the applications, they are sent to the sub-Regional Officer, Tribal Development Corporations. The Sub-Regional Officer TDC consult the Project Officer at Sal and the Project Officer, Sal consult the DRDA. Depending upon the availability of funds in a year under nucleus Budget, the Project Officer, ITDP either sanction or reject the application. If he sanctions the application, DRDA should release the subsidy portion. The loan amount is 50% as subsidy portion is 50% for STs. In other words, 100% initial expenditure is borne by the Government for STs. When DRDA release subsidy to the Regional Office, TDC loan portion is also released simultaneously which is earmarked under Tribal Sub Plan budget.

In this context the then Director, DRDA observed that since the tribal is getting 50% subsidy, it is not a problem for paying loan installments particularly in dairy and irrigation schemes as they immediately earn the money and hence can repay.[16] However, for tribals who live outside the TDP area, funds under non-tribal sub-plan area are released in the usual course. Recently the concessional rates that are applicable in TSP area are given to those tribals also. Now let us turn out attention to the role and functioning of Assistant Project Officers with reference to implementation of IRDP in Pune District.

Role and functioning of A.P.Os.

The then Director DRDA observed that the Assistant Project Officers are deputed by the concerned departments and their confidential report is written by the Chief Executive Officer and the Chairman of Zilla Parishad. At the administrative level they are under the control of the Director, DRDA and technically under their parent departments. Their loyalty is divided. But the work can be got done if the Director is dynamic.[17] This observation marks it clear that there is inherent limitation in the organizational set up of DRDA and tact and shrewdness is required on the part of the Director DRDA to get the work done through Assistant Project Officers.

A.P.O. Agriculture[18] :

Assistant Project Officer (Agri) observed that regular inspection of blocks is not possible. Work loan has been increased very much and new subjects Ex. Jawahar Rojgar Yojana, production centers for low cost housing and also proposals for subsidy to BPL beneficiaries sponsored by banks are entrusted on him. He observed that APO monitoring and APO credit should initially

scrutinize all the applications and then channel them to APO Agriculture, APO Animal Husbandry and APO Industries. All the proposals are in three parts. On an average about 100-150 applications are handled per A.P.O. But atleast 600-700 goes to APO, Animal Husbandry. In Purandar, Khed, Junnar, Ambegaon and Bhor pending of applications is there. Applications are pending due to non-release of subsidy claims with banks. They fall back in submission of new proposals. For example, for goat unit, banks do not advance full loan. Hence, beneficiaries do not come forward to get the assert.

Earlier, when proposals are sanctioned only that much amount of subsidy was sent to bank branches. There are instances in which the subsidy amounts were pending with banks for 1-2 years helping the bank to mis-utilise the amount. Now, the procedure has changed. Now the proposals are sanctioned by DRDA and the subsidy amount is indicated in the sanctioned order. Subsidy amount is kept at the Regional Head Office of Nationalized banks and loan disbursement report is to be submitted by the Branch Manager to the Regional Head Office and to the DRDA on monthly basis. The day the loan amount is disbursed subsidy amount is adjusted and voucher No. and date is reported to the DRDA and Regional Office. Now there is no pending and the subsidy amount is utilized immediately. When the advice of subsidy sanctioned is sent by the DRDA to the bank branch manager, two months time limit is given for disbursement of subsidy. If he does not disburse within two months, he has to get it revalidated by DRDA office for a month's time and has to purchase the asset and handed it over to the beneficiaries. This has streamlined DRDA accounts and administrative procedure. This is a unique experiment of Maharashtra and only Pune District has introduced it since 1.4.1990 and the credit goes to the Project Director and the Accounts Officer. Since EMPs/ oil engines and pipelines and bullock-carts are available in plenty in markets, there are no problems. Hence no delay in disbursement of subsidy. However, MSEB is not providing firm quotations to banks quickly. This creates problems in releasing subsidy. Still delay persists. According to APO, agriculture, in Khed, Ambegaon, Junnar, Purander there are no serious problems either from the bank/Panchayat Samiti or from the beneficiary side.

A.P.O. Agriculture stated that IRDP has made maximum progress in Lift Irrigation Scheme in Bhor, Daund and Indapur. So also in Khed, Ambegaon. Irrigation Scheme, Land Development, use of HYV and fertilizer helped the Adivasis and

they have derived maximum benefit from these schemes. In Shirur, Mulshi, Maval, in part of Daund, Haveli (part of) source of water is meager. Hence lift irrigation schemes are not a success. Now, emphasis on development schemes is reduced because Land Development in most of the areas of Pune division is already completed. Bullock pair and bullock cart in all blocks are doing well.

In Bhor and Indapur talukas there are big dams. Backwaters of these dams in the upstream side are conductive for lift irrigation schemes. Extension Officer requires guidance regarding individual co-operative lift irrigation scheme. In Pune, some 75 new irrigation co-operative schemes are proposed by the APO (Agri.) they are under the following heads : New Wells, EMPs, Oil engines, bullock cart, bullock pair, land leveling etc.

The then Director also pointed out that in Bodne village, Indapur Tq. Indian bank registered recovery under irrigation scheme. In Hingne Berdi in Daund Tq. under irrigation scheme recovery is cent percent. In Badgaon, in Sangamner and in Bhor Tqs under irrigation schemes people are getting two crops. In Velhe and Junnar, irrigation scheme failed due to lack of water source.[19]

Guidance is provided regarding NABARD norms, regarding lift irrigation schemes, pertaining to cost of EMPs/Oil engines and pipelines. Now NABARD has specified the rates for 90mm x 100mm (3" 4") pipelines (cost norms) regarding quantum of subsidy given by the DRDA.

The problem is, in letter and spirit the beneficiary should select the schemes according to his needs. However, keeping in view his non-repayable capacity banks prevail on beneficiaries and impose schemes on them with the hope that beneficiaries may repay the loan amount. This is one of the limitations of the scheme. However, success of any scheme depends upon beneficiaries' attitude and his own conception of development.

Implementation of improved agricultural implements is necessary in all blocks, e.g. Iron plough, iron harrows, iron hoes and seed drill require propaganda in agricultural area to increase the production.

To solve the problems noted above following suggestions can be made. They are :

We found inadequate grants to be the main limitation. If more grants are provided then DRDA can serve more people. Earlier, there was monetary ceiling for irrigation schemes. Now, the Government of India

removes it and this has helped the agriculture sector to reap large benefit. In general, still there is a need for simplifying forms and procedures.

Clerical or ministerial assistance should be given to APOs. At least one Jr. Clerk for each APO is necessary. It will reduce APO's clerical burden, and he can visit more villagers and by this his services can be better utilized for field visits. At least one vehicle is required for APO for field visits. Since the suggestion No. 1 is already implemented. Suggestion No. 2 should be favourably considered by the Government of Maharashtra which will help in effective implementation, IRDP.

APO ANiMAL HUSBANDRY.[20]

On an average APO (Animal Husbandry) receives 500 applications per month for processing. This work he stated, hampers him in visiting the villages as per rules. Regarding the scrutiny of applications he stated "It is expected that the breed of the animal in the application form should be mentioned. But it is not done. On the basis of cost, subsidy is recommended by him as per NABARD norm for purchase of milch animals by the purchase committee. Bankers have some confusion in classifying small / marginal farmers for counting quantum of subsidy they are entitled for. If they give more attention for this, they can correctly assess the quantum of loan and subsidy and fix up the recovery schedule properly. This does not create problem to the beneficiary for repaying loan amount. Such cases are about 15-20%. Most important thing in scrutiny is that we do not know whether the recommended beneficiary is having the knowledge of maintaining the live stock supplied to him by DRDA. For ex. Food habit, health and hygiene etc.

Before disbursing the assets to the beneficiaries it is necessary to impart proper training regarding economical maintenance of milch animals. Then they can reap profit. The conventional method as followed till today puts the beneficiary to loss. Conversion of feed to milk should be taught to him. Of course, in the 8th Plan, this defect was corrected. As per the recommendations of Task Force Committee, the Governments are carrying out their work since 1990-91. For Animal Husbandry Scheme, under DRDA 30% of the subsidy component is given. On the basis of experience one can say that this is enough. In the earlier plans (4th, 5th and 6th also) this percentage was more than 50. To bring proper balance regarding other activities and also to see that landless labourers and rural artisans should get larger packages, subsidy of Animal Husbandry was reduced to 30%. Broadly, it can be said that where there are

irrigated lands, there animal husbandry schemes have succeeded and in profit, for ex. Baramati, Indapur, Daund and Ambegaon. In semi-urban areas say 15-20 Kms. from Pune city, Bhor, Mulshi, Haveli animal husbandry activities are in profit because of higher selling rate. Where there is feed and fodder there is also transportation facility. In this context, the then Director pointed out that in Daund, Baramati, Shirur and Indapur where green fodder is available in summer season the scheme of milch animals is a success. So also where dairy societies are working satisfactorily milch animals are a success. Due to increase in rate for milk, milk goes to Bombay Market. He further stated that in Bawada in Indapur Tq. and again in Galandwadi in Daund Tq. 90-100% recovery is registered because they are engaged in dairy activity,[21] this will result in success of the scheme. In 1988-89, the scheme of fodder production was started at the Dairy Society's level. This has happened at the Pune Dist. also. As a result, there is little shortage of fodder. Dry fodder from drought area comes for sale in Pune Dist. Ex. Kavdi comes from Ahmednagar District and Marathwada. Hence, there is no problem of fodder. This opportunity is seized by Dairy Co-operative Societies and the beneficiaries. In Pune there are about 1,04 Dairy Societies spread over in 778 villages, out of 1646 Revenue villages. They have a registered membership strength of 87,267 members. Out of them 7,007 are SCs / weaker sections. Out of 1,204 dairy institutions at present 937 are functioning. This indicates that animal husbandry programme is doing well in the District.

We found that follow up of schemes was not done properly due to lack of communication between DRDA staff at the District level and Animal Husbandry field staff at Tq. Level. DRDA staff does not keep communication with Animal Husbandry Staff at Tq. Level which it was supposed to do. Unless DRDA staff gives the list of number of animals supplied and to whom under DRDA to the field supervisor or animal Husbandry Dept. it is not possible for the supervisor to provide follow up action in respect of treatment, vaccination etc. DRDA officer could not do this work because proposals are not routed through him. BDO should do this at the concerned block level. Due to this lacunae animals are not properly taken care of. This may lead to ineffectiveness use of assets.

APO MONITORING[22] :

APO monitoring when questioned stated that fault lies in the basic policy. Since DRDA has no control over banks regarding disbursing full package

loan, matter can only be raised in Tq. level and District level co-ordination meetings. Even then they are not bound by it. Even the circulars issued by NABARD and RBI are not given due importance. This policy should be changed. Pace of improvement through IRDP is slow but it will pick up if improvement is effected. Banks should feel that they are involved in this government programme and they should be held responsible for their part of work. Banks do not want to advance loan because chances of recovery are very poor/low. On the other hand the Government wants banks to advance loan. This is a difficult exercise. Hence, banks take the recourse of advancing loans to big farmers so that recovery can be effected. The situation is poor and the government face volte face in the policy. DRDA is not bothered because it is concerned with subsidy portion. There, the question of recovery of amount does not arise whereas bankers worry about the recovery of loan amount sanctioned. So the government and bank officials should sit together and solve this problem. The sanctioning of loan goes against bank's policy i.e. getting more deposit.

The then Director stated recovery was good so far as S.Ts. was concerned. But where the assets were mis-utilised, sold, the beneficiaries should have been severely punished. In one instance at Indapur Tq. a bank reported that 80% of assets were disposed off in the market within a week and the local leaders told the beneficiaries not to worry about recovery. In Walchandnagar, Bank of India reported that disposal of assets took place at Nimgaon Ketki (Indapur Tq.) Hence Banks fear to sanction the eligible applications. Our study showed that Purandhar, Haveli, Velhe are not doing well in recovery of loan installments.

He further stated that Bank Managers and B.D.Os. should have good understanding but it is not there. Banks should also have targets like B.D.Os. for the sanction of loan applications. This suggestion if implemented will reduce the no. of pending applications at the bank level. He further stated that Target approach is not bad but it should not be too rigid[23]. In other words, the Director felt that quality of performance deteriorate if the target approach is implemented strictly.

In our view Service Area Approach requires to be more personal. One branch of a bank has to serve 10-20 villages. But the personnel may be less in that particular branch. Particularly, field officers are in need. Even if personnel is increased their pay is given by the bank. This should be solved by sharing of expenditure between bank and the government for the officers

spared by banks for IRDP work. In villages if we encourage a fairly moneyed entrepreneur with proper technical guidance it will generate local employment and help them to cross the poverty line. This will reduce the burden of government with reference to monitoring and paper work. Food processing industry requires Agrobased industries as such co-operatives of small BPL families may be encouraged. For this, people's participation is very necessary. For rural development in general bureaucracy at the block level needs to be strengthened. Now, it is a top heavy bureaucracy. For Extension Officers training is required broadly regarding basic concepts of rural development like approaches and types of planning, statistics compilation and use, financial aspects like accounts maintenance etc. Target per block is fixed on the basis of BPL, family numbers in each block and the minimum number of families already aided.

APO Industries[24] :

APO Industry stated that for the ISB sector, candidates are trained in different trades. Coverage under IRDP is 50% in primary, 25% in secondary and remaining 25% in tertiary sectors. He further observed that there is no scope for small-scale industries in tribal or hilly areas of Pune district. This is so because to operate a small-scale industry, minimum qualification is required. The loan or subsidy amount provided under IRDP is not enough for establishing a small-scale industry.

In the business and service sector for IRDP beneficiaries, condition of qualification is not imposed. Qualification is also not required for starting a small business or service. Hence, only activities like manufacture of ropes out of tree bark, chalk sticks. Masala, kandap, bee keeping, leather work, cycle hiring and repairing, carpentry, smithy, sawing are taken up by the beneficiaries. As a result no new trade or activity is coming up in rural areas of Pune district.

Even under TRYSEM, qualification is not a requirement. Obviously, people obtain training for a short duration only in certain areas like tailoring, nursing and midwifery, dairy and poultry, two wheeler repair, radio and watch repair, live-stock supervision, welding, fabrication, wiremen, motor rewinding, electronic assembly etc.

In the case of assisting petty business, before approving the loan proposal of the beneficiary, simple questions are asked to test whether the potential beneficiary has rudimentary information or skill about the trade or business for which the proposal was made. For ex. If a person wish to have two wheeler repair or trade, he is asked about the tools that are required. Or if a person is

interested in opening general/grocery store, questions regarding cost of items like dal, oil, soap, tooth paste, brands that are generally used in the locality are asked. After satisfying about the capacity of the potential beneficiary, applications are sanctioned. In scrutinizing such applications particularly BPL No., name of the applicant, whether the loan proposal is within the NABARD Norm is checked.

Follow up is done by APO Industries by surprise visit to the training centres/institutions to check whether the trainees are present or absent. He further pointed out that EOS, Industry is overburdened with other works of BDOS' office. To supervise their work, APO (Ind) visits institutions/BDOS' office once in three months. The purpose of such visit is to find out whether ISB sector under IRDP is covered or not. The progress of schemes under secondary, tertiary sector is also checked in these visits. To make sure regarding the proper utilization of assets provided under IRDP, APO once in a year check on the spot the assets in the villages and inquiries about where the tools of the trade are.

At present sponsoring for tailoring and typing activity has stopped in Pune district, because there is lack of output. For helping the beneficiaries under ISB sector to market their goods a co-operative Society at the District Level similar to that of APMCs is established. This will encourage the IRDP potential beneficiaries to avail the loan for starting business under ISB sector. We found that regarding loan repayment comparatively, tribals utilize the benefits properly and pay back loan installments.

EOs from Daund, Ambegaon, Indapur, Khed, Baramati stated that APOs should visit the block once in a month to understand the practical problems and help EOs. BDO from Ambegaon, Baramati and Daund stated that if APOs sort out particularly bank problems on the spot work could be expedited. However, BDO from Khed observed that blocks couldn't expect much from the DRDA officials because of lack of staff at DRDA office. This observation is also supported by the then Director, DRDA. To put in nutshell, the expectations of the BDOs are reasonable and the existing staff at DRDA cannot meet the same.

Hitherto we have discussed how the DRDA officials and related agencies operationalise IRDP in Pune district. Now let us turn our attention to bankers and their perception regarding IRDP.

Role of Banks in IRDP[25] :

In implementing IRDP banks have a major role to play as substantial cost of the project comprises the loan portion. Till the end of March 1995 in Pune district to serve a total number of 1,07,547 beneficiaries an amount

of Rs. 5,181.94 lakhs as loan was borne by the banks and Rs.2,420.57 lakhs as subsidy was borne by the Government.

The size of the loan to beneficiary should be determined by the project requirement. For this purpose, unit cost norms worked out by NABARD should be strictly adhered to. Assets purchased out of IRDP itself are security for the loan amount. This is because the scheme is 'purpose • oriented' and not 'security oriented'.

For assessing the loan requirements of the beneficiaries, cost of fixed assets be taken into consideration and the percentage of loan amount depends upon the category of the beneficiary i.e open/ST/SC, physically handicapped etc. For ex. if the beneficiary is eligible for 30% subsidy then the remaining 70% are provided as loan. In sanctioning loan only that much of loan amount is sanctioned which is absolutely necessary as per rules and not what the beneficiary expects. Especially, for business/ service activity banks independently assess the requirements of the applicant after the application is received from the BDO's office. Investigation for this purpose is conducted by the Agricultural Field Officer of the bank / branch manager by taking into account scope for business in the area and the ability of the applicant to carry on the business, competition in the locality, availability of raw materials, market etc. While sanctioning loan for agriculture / animal husbandry activity concerned EO i.e. Agriculture / Industry / Animal Husbandry is involved. To prevent mis-utilisation of loan portion bank deals directly with the supplier or the dealer. Depending upon the activity, loan repayment installments are decided so that the beneficiaries do not have undue strain in repaying loan amount. For ex. Regarding repayment of loan obtained for agricultural activity repayment will be due at the time of harvesting and for business activities it is generally on monthly basis.

Recently (1990) Service Area Approach or block level planning is adopted with a view to systematize distribution of work load among the banks. While distributing the work load, number of villages and their population with that of potential beneficiaries to be served are taken into consideration.

To find out to what extent defaulters and those who sell out their assets force the banks to reject the applications, statistics (approximate) regarding total amount disbursed to the number of beneficiaries and the number of defaulters for a period of 2-3 years are obtained from 21 banks.

TABLE NO. 1

STATEMENT SHOWING THE DISBURSEMENT OF LOANS TO THE BENEFICIARIES OF IRDP IN PUNE DISTRICT

Name of block	Sr. No	Name of the Bank	No. of villages covered	Popula-tion covered	No. of personnel in bank	Total amount disbursed	Total no. of		Percentages of the	
							Bene ficiaries	Defaulters	who sold assets	whose applications rejected
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
KHED	1.	P.D.C.C.Bank	15	20 – 25000	25	5.25	92	42 (45.6)	5 – 10	35
	2	State Bank of India	19	20000	29	3.81	128	80 (62.5)	50	5
	3.	Bank of Maha=	13	20000	18	9.45	220	150 (68.2)	25 – 30	5
	4.	P.D.C.C.Bank Dehne	21	22000	03	12.26	200	70 (35)	4 – 5	20
	5	Bank of Maha. (Dehne)	17	25000	03	1.27	62	New Branch	-	Nil
JUNNAR	6	Bank of Maha.	11	16000	08	10.50	410	160 (39)	25	40
	7.	Canara Bank	9	7 – 8000	14	5.70	275	177 (65)	40	10
AMBEGAON	8	State Bank of India	17	-	13	11.45	455	160 (35)	05	05
	9	P.D.C.C.	08	25000	07	-	-	-	-	25
	10	Bank of Maha.	14	20000	05	0.65	54	027(20)	20	45
INDAPUR	11	State Bank of Ind.	17	25000	09	3.86	165	100 (61)	70	10
	12	M.S.Krishva Gramin Bank	41	35 – 40000	13	4.85	58	3 (05)	5 – 10	25
	13.	Bank of Maha.	17	25 – 30000	19	5.46	149	137 (92)	25	25
VELHE	14	Bank of Maha.	38	12000	05	7.38	184	60 (33)	10	01
DAUND	15	Bank of Maha	07	15000	13	4.00	112	101 (90)	60	20
	16	Central Bank of Ind.	07	20000	17	12.00	202	150 (74)	30	10
	17	State Bank of Ind.	08	20000	25	1.84	60	40 (67)	40 – 50	40
BARAMATI	18.	Bank of Maha.	05	15000	35	13.84	346	106 (31)	-	20
	19	Central Bank of Ind.	05	10000	15	3.50	120	90 (75)	40	05
	20.	State Bank of Ind.	06	12000	50	3.80	209	85 (41)	91	50
SHIRPUR	21.	Bank of Maha	05	15000	17	-	-	-	-	-

(Figures in bracket indicate the percentage to the total) Source : Field work

The percentage of those who sold their assets will reveal to what extent IRDP is a success. The same is presented in Table No. 1

Table No. 1 shows the name of block and bank, number of villages and population covered vis-a-vis staff position, total amount disbursed to total number of beneficiaries, number of defaulters and those who sold their assets and percentage of rejection of applications by banks.

Staff:

• The Table No. 1 point out that compared to other banks lead bank i.e. Bank of Maharashtra is carrying out its work in Khed, Junnar, Ambegaon and Velhe with minimum staff but having large coverage of population and villages. In the same way, PDCC bank at Dehene (Khed Tq.) and Ambegaon is working with minimum staff. So also at Indapur State Bank of India is not having adequate staff. This may be one of the reasons for Bank of Maharashtra at Wada and Kadus, State Bank of India at Chakan and Land Development Bank at Khed to delay applications for 3-4 months.

Defaulters:

Out of these 21 banks, 9 banks are having defaulters exceeding 50 percent. State Bank of India and Bank of Maharashtra have defaulters exceeding 60%. In Junnar, Canara Bank is in the same position. So also State Bank of India at Indapur and Daund. At Indapur and Daund, Bank of Maharashtra has defaulters exceeding 90% Central Bank of India at Daund and Baramati has defaulters exceeding 70%.

Selling of Assets:

The Table also makes it clear that State Bank of India at Khed informed that 50% of the beneficiaries have sold their assets, Canara Bank at Junnar and State Bank of India at Daund, Central Bank of India at Baramati informed that 40% and 40-50% of the beneficiaries have sold their assets respectively. More than 50% of beneficiaries have sold their assets as per the information given by State Bank of India at Indapur and Bank of Maharashtra at Daund. However, in Baramati State Bank of India informed that 91.1% have sold their assets. In view of high level of default and due to weakened banking system Government need to reconsider the whole scheme with a view to reduce the non-performance assets of banks since these becomes a burden on honest tax payers.

Rejection of Applications26:

So far as rejection of applications are concerned 35 to 50% of rejection took place at PDCC Bank at Khed, Bank of Maharashtra at Junnar and Ambegaon and 50% by State Bank of India at Baramati. In other words, the Table indicates that broadly, whenever there is

more number of beneficiaries who sold their assets, there the rate of rejecting applications is also high. In brief, the problem of defaulters is a glaring one in IRDP. Since Banks, particularly commercial banks, have no authority to use coercive means to recover loan amount and the revenue authority (Tahsildar) does not take much interest in the matter which ultimately lead the people to cultivate the attitude of irresponsibility and dependency on government which will atleast partially defeat the very objectives of IRDP.

Except at Baramati and Shirur block, where staff is adequate at the banks in all the remaining 6 blocks, banks stated that atleast one more field officer is required for pre and post-sanction and regular follow-up activities connected with IRDP.

Banks for IRDP work co-ordinate their activities through bankers meeting once in a month at Tq. Level and co-ordination meeting chaired by BDO at the blocks and District level meetings.

Lack of Initiative :

However, in 1983-84 it was reported[27] that banks particularly at Khed Taluka are not accepting proposals from 20-25 villages, which are in hilly areas. Hence, nationalized banks were requested by the Government to take note of this point. Moreover, though there is no need for security to obtain loan upon Rs. 5000/- under IRDP, banks in some places insisted on the same. On this point lead bank was asked to do the needful. In addition to this, compared to other Districts in the State participation of PDCC bank, Pune district under IRDP was less. Hence, it was made binding on PDCC at Pune that it should participate in IRDP on target basis. Final defect that was noticed was that though there were some who were BPL they were not included in the earlier survey. It was made clear that they should be included in the BPL list at the earliest survey. It was made clear that they should be included in the BPL list at the earliest so that this work can be completed. These decisions were implemented quickly and as a result since 1983-84 PDCC banks at Pune were working on the basis of target fixed for them in distributing loan to the beneficiaries. At the end of March, 1984 for ex., they had distributed loan of Rs.33.16 lakhs against the target of Rs. 30.62 lakhs[28]. In other words, due to target approach both nationalized, commercial and co-operative banks are taking up the responsibility seriously and the burden is more or less proportionately distributed among them. As a result of resurvey during 1983-84, 8865 BPL families in the district are added to the BPL list. However, in 1984-85 also there was pressure to include many more in BPL list [29].

MAJOR DRAWBACKS OF IRDP:

Hitherto, we have discussed how the banks play their role and difficulties experienced in recovery. Now, let us turn our attention regarding the major drawbacks of IRDP, as perceived by the bankers.

1. Poorest of the poor is left out and

2. Poorest of the poor could not get maximum benefit because he has the problem of subsistence.

3. Beneficiary treats assets as a gift from the Government. As programme is imposed from above do not enthuse sufficient interest. This will lead to mis-utilisation of assets and tendency to avoid paying loan installment.

4. In hilly areas cross breed cows are not useful because there transportation is a problem. Lack of medical facility or timely availability of the facility and lack of training for the beneficiary in maintaining the asset lead to unprofitable venture.

5. Lack of co-operation from Government officials especially VLWs, EOs, BDOs and Tahsildar in recovery drive.

6. Inadequate package, for ex. Instead of providing 10 + 1 sheep or goat unit only 5 + 1 are given. This is insufficient to run the business on profit line.

7. NABARD unit price is less than the existing market price. Hence, beneficiaries do not want to avail the benefit.

8. Inadequate staff at the bank level.

9. Adequate publicity is not given to the programme

10. IRDP is target oriented. In a hurry to meet the target quality in implementation suffers.

11. In purchasing assets like sheep and goat units beneficiary and seller with prior understanding hike the cost and weekly bazar is manipulated. Such cases are nearly 20% (Daund). If the loan is not creating an asset the Government better stop the scheme in the interest of healthy banking and in the interest of lowest taxpayers that are made to suffer for these schemes.

SUGGESTIONS FOR RECOVERY

To improve the recovery drive bankers made the following suggestions, they are

1. Targets should be reasonable and not unwieldy, programme should be developed in a phased manner.

2. VLWs should report to the bank about the activity of the borrower vis-a-vis recovery once in a month and help the bank officials in their visit.

3. BDOs should accompany the bank officials to villages to help the recovery or they should send EOs with bank officials on regular basis. Since they are in direct contract with the beneficiaries they should use their good offices and persuade the beneficiaries for paying loan

installments. They should educate the beneficiary regarding second dosage if the loan installment is paid. Recovery camps may be arranged along with the help of Tahsildar's office. If in one or two cases in each village loan is recovered people will come forward to pay the dues.

Bankers further observed that tribal people compared to non-tribals work hard, and make good use of assets. If they cannot pay. they visit the banks and explain their difficulties. Generally they pay their loan installments. For the purpose of recovery bank managers should be vested with the powers of co-operative department.

In the aforesaid paragraphs we have analyzed how the DRDA, Pune functions especially regarding implementing IRDP and its relation to other administrative units at the District level including banks. Now, let us focus in part II our attention towards implementation of IRDP in tribal areas and its implications on Tribal development.

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एकाकीपणा - आदिवासींच्या विकासातील एक अडथळा !

* श्री.पी.आर.तिकोने

महाराष्ट्र राज्याला सृष्टीसौंदयांचे वरदान लाभले आहे. सहयाद्री, सातपुडा हे पर्वतराज अनंत हस्तांनी महाराष्ट्राला हे सौंदर्य व त्याचबरोबर जीवनाचे दान करतात. तथापि, सृष्टी सौंदयांनी नटलेल्या या डोंगर पहाडाच्या कुशीत जंगलाच्या आश्रयाने राहणाऱ्या आमच्या आदिवासी बांधवांच्या शैक्षणिक, आर्थिक व सामाजिक स्थितीचे सिंहावलोकन करणेही तेवढेच गरजेचे ठरत आहे.

स्वातंत्र्यापूर्वी त्यांना अनेक समस्यांना तोंड द्यावे लागत असे. त्यामध्ये अन्न, वस्त्र व निवारा या माणसाच्या ज्या तीन मूलभूत गरजा आहेत, त्या भागवायच्या म्हणजे किती यातना त्यांना पडतायेत. लाज झाकण्यापुरतेच जेमतेम वस्त्र त्यांच्या वाटयाला येई. कित्येक वेळा झाड-पाल्यावरही दिवस दिवस त्यांना काढावे लागत असे. निवाऱ्यासाठी कुडाच्या भिंती असलेली झोपडी, पावसाळयात पिण्यासाठी शुध्द व स्वच्छ पाणी मिळणे मुश्कील तर उन्हाळयात पाण्यासाठी वणवण फिरण्याची पाळी ! तशातच, रोगराई आली तर ना औषधपाणी, ना कोणाची मदत. शिक्षण, सार्वजनिक आरोग्य, इत्यादी सुसंस्कृत समाजाच्या ज्या गरजा आपण मानतो, त्यांचा स्पर्शही त्यांना कधी झालेला नव्हता. कारण पुढारलेल्या समाजापासून दूर राहून ते तुटक, एकलकोंडे असे जीवन जगत होते.

भौगोलिक कारणामुळे दूर राहून वेगळेपणाचे आयुष्य कंठणाऱ्यांची ही अवस्था करुण होती. सामाजिक विषमतेमुळेही त्यांना अतिकष्टाचे जीवन जगावे लागत होते. स्वातंत्र्योत्तर काळात देशातील जनतेला स्वातंत्र्याची फळे चाखायला मिळावीत आणि खऱ्या अर्थाने देशामध्ये सामाजिक समता निर्माण व्हावी म्हणून भारताच्या राज्य घटनेमध्ये त्यानुसार शैक्षणिक, आर्थिक व सामाजिक न्याय प्रस्थापित करण्याच्या दृष्टीने प्रथमत: प्रयत्न करण्यात आला. भारतीय घटनेतील हे मार्गदर्शक तंत्व पुढीलप्रमाणे आहे.

कमकुवत असलेल्या वर्गाची विशेषत: वर्गीकृत जाती, जनजाती यांच्या शैक्षणिक व आर्थिक हितसंबंधाची शासन विशेष काळजी घेईल आणि सामाजिक अन्याय व सर्व प्रकारच्या पिळवणुकीपासून त्यांचे संरक्षण करील.

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या व्यतिरिक्त शासनाने घटनेच्या ४६ व्या कलमाध्ये खास उपाययोजनेची तरतूदही केली आहे. सामाजिक समतोलता राखण्यासाठी शैक्षणिक, आर्थिक व सामाजिक हे तीन मुख्य प्रश्न लक्षात घेण्यात आले व त्यानुसार भारताच्या पंचवार्षिक योजनामध्ये आदिवासीच्या विकासासाठी खास योजना आखण्यात आल्या. गांववार प्राथमिक शाळा, मुलांना शिक्षणाकरिता शिष्यवृत्त्या देणे, शिक्षणाबरोबर त्यांच्या राहण्याची व्यवस्था म्हणून वसतिगृहे स्थापन करणे, आदिवासी मुलांकरिता खास आश्रमशाळांची स्थापना,प्रौढ शिक्षण कार्यक्रम, शेतजमिनीचे वाटप, जमीन सुधारणा कार्यकम, सुधारीत शेती अवजारे पुरविणे, विहिरींची दुरुस्ती व नव्याने विहीरी बांधणे, विद्युतपंप/डिझेल पंप पुरविणे व सुधारीत शेती प्रशिक्षण, शेती व्यवसायास घरगुती/कृषी पूरक उद्योगांची जोड देणे, सहकारी संस्था स्थापन करणे, कुशल कारागिरांचे प्रशिक्षण देणे, शेतमजूरीत वाढ करणे, घरांच्या बांधकामासाठी आर्थिक सहाय्य पुरविणे, वैद्यकिय सुविधा उपलब्ध करुन देणे, शुध्द पाण्याचा पुरवठा, खेळ साहित्य इ.बाबींचा आदिवासी विकास उपयोजनेमध्ये समावेश करण्यात आलेला आहे.

आतापर्यंत आपण आठ पंचवार्षिक योजना राबविल्या आहेत. सध्या नववी पंचवार्षिक योजना चालू असून दहाव्या पंचवार्षिक योजनांचे आराखडे तयार करण्याचे काम चालू आहे. या आठही पंचवार्षिक योजनांचा आढावा आदिवासी विकासाच्या दृष्टीने घेतला असता, या योजनांद्वारे आदिवासींचा खरोखर विकास साधला आहे काय ? हा प्रश्न डोळयासमोर उभा राहतो. या प्रश्नाचे प्रामाणिक उत्तर द्यावयाचे झाले तर पूर्णपणे नाही. असेच म्हणावे लागेल. कारण आदिवासींच्या उन्नतीचा प्रश्न हा एखाद्या भौगोलिक भागाच्या उन्नती इतका सोपा नाही. आदिवासी समाजाला पुढारलेल्या समाजाबरोबर आणणे हे काम एवढे सोपे नाही. कारण आदिवासींच्या प्रवृत्तीचा, मनाचा, विचारसरणीचा आदिवासींच्या विकासाच्या दृष्टीने विचार करण्यात आला आहे का ? विकासामध्ये त्यांचा संपूर्णत: सहभाग आहे काय ? याचा येथे विचार होणे अत्यंत गरजेचे आहे. त्यांचा अपेक्षित प्रतिसाद मिळविणे हे विकासाला पोषक ठरणारे आहे, असे वाटते.

आदिवासींच्या विकासाच्या दृष्टीने विचार केला असता समाज मागासलेला आहे किंवा नाही हे ठरविण्याचा एक निकष म्हणजे समाज किती शिकलेला आहे. जो समाज जास्त शिकलेला तो समाज पुढारलेला समजला जातो. सन १९६१ ते १९९१ या जनगणनेद्वारे उपलब्ध झालेला सर्वसाधारण व आदिवासींचा साक्षरता दर खालील तक्त्यामध्ये दर्शविला आहे.

जनगणना वर्ष	सर्वसाधारण साक्षरता दर			आदिवासी साक्षरता दर		
	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण	पुरुष	स्त्रिया	एकूण
१९६१	४२	१७	३०	१३	२	७
१९७१	५१	२६	३९	१९	४	१२
१९८१	५९	३५	४७	३२	१२	२२
१९९१	७७	५२	६५	४९	२४	३७

साक्षरता व विकास यांचा एकमेकांशी जवळचा संबंध आहे. साक्षरतेमुळे जगामध्ये घडलेल्या विविध घटनांची नोंद घेता येते. नवीन तंत्रज्ञानाची, संशोधनाची माहिती मिळते व अशा संशोधनाच्या नवीन तंत्रज्ञानाचा आपणास रोजच्या जीवनात वापर करता येतो. आपण विकासमुख बनतो. साक्षरतेचे महत्व लक्षात घेता, वरील आकडेवारीही विचारात घेणे गरजेचे आहे. वरील आकडेवारी अभ्यासली असता. सर्वसाधारण लोकसंख्येचा साक्षरता दर व आदिवासी लोकसंख्येचा साक्षरता दर यामध्ये मोठीच तफावत दिसत आहे. गेल्या चार दशकातील आकडेवारीचा अभ्यास केला असता ही तफावत दूर होत आहे. परंतू तफावत दूर होण्याचा वेग खूपच मंद आहे. सर्वसाधारण व आदिवासीमधील साक्षरता दरातील तफावत कमी करण्याचे शासनाचे आटोकाट प्रयत्न चालू आहेत. तरीसुध्दा अपेक्षित लक्ष्य साध्य झालेले नाही. याबाबत कोणती कारणे कारणीभूत आहे या बाबींचाही विचार होणे गरजेचे ठरणार आहे.

नियोजनकर्ते, समाज शास्त्रज्ञ व सर्वसाधरण विचारवंत, अभ्यास आणि शासनकर्ते यांना असे जाणवत आहे की, एकटेपणा (Isolation) या आदिवासी समाजातील वृत्तीमुळे त्यांच्या सर्वांगीण विकासावर विपरित परिणाम होत आहे. त्यांची मानसिकता (Mental make up) व त्यांचे वास्तविक जीवन (Material life) या दोन्ही जीवन पध्दती आदिवासीमध्ये एकटेपणा निर्माण करीत आहे. कारण त्यांचे वास्तव्य (Habitant) हे सर्वसाधारण जनतेपासून दूर असल्यचे दिसून येते. ते एकमेकांमध्ये मिसळत नाहीत. सर्वसाधारणपणे आदिवासी जमातीचे निरीक्षण केल्यास सुमारे ६० ते ७० टक्के आदिवासी हे गांवाबाहेरील पाडा/वाडी/टोला या ठिकाणी राहत असल्याचे दिसून येते. ठाणे, रायगड, नाशिक,पुणे इ. जिल्हयामधील आदिवासींच्या निवासी स्थितीचा (Residential Status) अभ्यास केला असता वरील स्थिती आढळून येते. तसेच साक्षरता दर तपासला असता, पाडयापेक्षा (Hamlet) गावठाण पातळीवर साक्षरतेचा दर जास्त असल्याचे दिसून येते. कारण सर्वसाधारणपणे प्राथमिक/माध्यमिक शाळा या गांवठाणामध्ये केंद्रित असतात. तर वाडी/पाडे हे मुख्य गावठाणापासून ५ ते १० कि.मी.अंतराच्या परिसरात असतात.

वाडी/पाडयावर शिक्षणाच्या सोयी उपलब्ध नसल्यामुळे मुलांना पायी ५ ते १० कि.मी. अंतर कापून शाळेत जावे लागते. त्यामुळे पालक आपल्या मुलांना शाळेत पाठविण्यास तयार होत नाही. तसेच रोजगार मिळविण्यासाठी आदिवासी पालकांना इतरत्र जावे लागते. अशावेळी घरामधील लहान मुले सांभाळणे, घरातील जनावरे सांभाळणे किंवा अन्य कामे मुलांवर सोपविली जातात. अशावेळी मुलांना शाळेच्या वेळेमध्ये घरातील कामे करावी लागतात. त्यामुळे शिक्षणाकडे दुर्लक्ष होते. शासनाने शिक्षण व निवास (जेवणासह) याचा समन्वय साधून आश्रमशाळा सुरु केलेल्या आहेत. त्यामुळे निश्चितच थोडा बदल जाणवत आहे.

वाडी/पाडे हे मुख्य गावठाणापासून ५ ते १० कि.मी.च्या परिसरात असल्याने रस्ते, पाणी, विद्युतपुरवठा, बाजार सुविधा इ.मूलभूत सुविधा पाडयापर्यंत काही प्रमाणात उपलब्ध होत नाहीत. रायगड जिल्हयातील आदिवासी उपयोजना क्षेत्रातील गांवाचा अभ्यास केला असता ४६ टक्के पाडयांना अजूनही बारमही रस्ते उपलब्ध झालेले नाहीत तर नळपाणी पुरवठा योजना गावठाणापर्यंत यशस्वी होतात पण त्याद्वारे पाडयापर्यंत पाणी पोहोचविणे कष्टाचे व आर्थिक दृष्टया परवडणारे नसल्याने काही प्रमाणात वाडी/पाडे अशा योजनांपासून वंचित राहतात. त्यामुळे पाडयावरील आदिवासी त्यांना उपलब्ध असेल त्या पाण्याचा पिण्यासाठी वापर करतात. विद्युत पुरवठयाचा आढावा घेतला असता गांवठाणामध्ये वीज उपलब्ध असते. परंतू ती पाडयापर्यंत पोहचत नाही. कारण गावठाणापासून पाडयाचे अंतर खूपच लांब असल्याने विद्युत पुरवठा करणे खर्चिक आहे. बेंचमार्क सर्वेक्षण १९९८-१९९९ मध्ये एकूण सर्वेक्षीत पाडयापैकी २५ टक्के पाडयांना अजूनही वीज नाही तर आरोग्याच्या सुविधा पाडयांना उपलब्ध नसतात. त्यामुळे जवळपासच्या गांवातील आरोग्य सुविधांचा त्यांना आधार घ्यावा लागतो. त्यामुळे बऱ्याचवेळा गंभीर किंवा किरकोळ आजार ते अंगावर काढतात. परिणामतः त्यांचे आरोग्य ढासळते. पाडयावर फिरत्या दवाखान्याद्वारे आरोग्य सुविधा देण्याचा प्रयत्न केला जात आहे. परंतू त्यावेळी फिरता दवाखाना पाडयावर येतो, त्यावेळी ते रोजगार मिळविण्यासाठी इतरत्र गेलेले असतात. अन्य सुविधांच्या बाबतीतही पाडयावरील आदिवासी रोजगार मिळविण्याच्या प्रयत्नामुळे वंचित राहतात किंवा कसे हे स्थानिक अधिकाऱ्यांनी तपासणे गरजेचे ठरणार आहे. वेळच्या वेळी या बाबी तपासल्या गेल्या तर आदिवासी विकासाला एका चांगल्या प्रकारची गती प्राप्त होणार आहे. याकरिता शासनाच्या विकास योजनांच्या अंमलबजावणी संदर्भातील संनियंत्रण व मूल्यामापन पध्दती विकासाला पोषक ठरणारी आहे. यांची चांगल्या प्रकारे अंमलबजावणी होणे अत्यंत गरजेचे आहे, असे वाटते.

शासनाने विविध प्रकारच्या (सामाजिक, शैक्षणिक, आर्थिक व कायदेशीर) उपापयोजना करुनही अजून आमचा आदिवासी समाज मागासच दिसत

आहे. त्यादृष्टीने हमीन हस्तांतरण प्रक्रिया, आदिवासी पूर्णतः कर्जमुक्त झाला किंवा कसे, वन कायदे व त्यांचा आदिवासींवर होणारा परिणाम, ग्रामपंचायती मध्ये त्यांचा सहभाग, प्रकल्पग्रस्तांचे पुनर्वसन, पुनर्वसित आदिवासींची सामाजिक व आर्थिक स्थिती, आदिम जमातीची सद्यस्थिती आणि आदिवासी उपयोजनांची अंमलबजावणी या गोष्टी पुन्हा एकदा पडताळून पाहण्याची व त्यातील दोष दूर करण्याची खूपच आवश्यकता आहे, असे वाटते.

शासनाने विविध मार्गाने प्रयत्न करुनही अजूनही आदिवासी बांधव मागासलेला दिसतो. मला वाटते याला प्रमुख कारण म्हणजे त्यांचा एकाकीपणा ! त्यांच्या या एकाकीपणाचा पावित्र्यामुळे (Isolation Poses of tribals) त्यांचा विकास साधला जात नाही का ? याबाबत संशोधन होणे ही गरजेचे ठरणार आहे. कारण एकाकीपणा याअर्थी संबोधलेला जात आहे की, आमचा आदिवासी समाज हा बुजरा आहे तो पुढारलेल्या समाजामध्ये मिसळत नाही. मोठ्या प्रमाणात सामाजिक कार्यात हिररीने भाग घेत नाही. पुढारलेल्या समाजापासून दूर राहून फक्त आपल्या पोटापाण्याचाच विचार करतो. जेवढे मिळेल त्यातच समाधान मानतो. भांडून खाणे, त्यांना माहितच नाही या प्रवृत्तीचे परिणाम राष्ट्रीय ऐक्यावर सुध्दा होऊ शकतो. यामधून सामाजिक विषमताही डोके वर काढू शकते. याकरिता हे टाळणे अत्यंत आवश्यक आहे. पुढारलेल्या समाजाच्या खांद्याला खांद्या लावून त्यांना सामाजिक कार्यामध्ये अंतर्भूत केले तर त्यांच्यातील एकाकीपणा निश्चितच दूर होईल. पुढारलेल्या समाजाबाबत त्यांच्यामध्ये जी भिती आहे, ती सर्वांनीच प्रयत्नाने दूर केली पाहिजे. त्यांच्या प्रत्येक बाबीमध्ये सहभाग वाढविला पाहिजे. त्यांच्या मतांची कदर केली तरच त्यांच्यातील एकाकीपणा नाहीसा व्हायला मदत होईल, असे वाटते.

राष्ट्रपिता महात्मा गांधी, पं.जवाहरलाल नेहरु, ठक्करबाप्पा, या थोर पुढाऱ्यांनी आदिवासींच्या या मानसिक व शारीरिक एकाकीपणाबाबत वारंवार धोक्याच्या सूचनाही दिलेल्या आहेत.

आदिवासींच्या विकासाबाबत मुख्यतः दोन प्रकारच्या विचारप्रणाली उदयास आलेल्या आहेत त्यातील (१) आदिवासींना त्यांच्या पारंपारिक संस्कृतीपासून बाहेर काढून त्यांचा इतर समाजाबरोबर विकास घडविणे (२) आदिवासीं संस्कृतीचे जतन करुन आवश्यक त्या संधी व आंतररचना (Infrastruture) द्वारे त्यांचा विकास साधणे.

वरील विचारप्रणालींचा विचार करता, येथे पं.जवारलाल नेहरुंच्या पंचशील मधील आदिवासी विकासाबाबतची त्यांची भूमिका जाणून घेणे गरजेचे ठरणार आहे.

अनुसूचित जमातींना विकासाची संधी आणि आवश्यक त्या आंतररचना उपलब्ध करुन देऊन, यथावकाश बाहय जागातील जीवनप्रवाहात मिसळण्याची संधी उपलब्ध करुन द्यावी. मात्र, त्याचवेळी त्यांच्या संस्कृतीतील चांगल्या व उपयुक्त

गोष्टींचेही जतन करुन त्यांचा विकास करावा. त्यांच्या पारंपारिक राहण्याच्या पध्दतीमध्ये ढवळाढवळ करु नये. बाहय शक्तीपासून त्यांच्यावर कसलाही दबाव येणे किंवा एखादी गोष्ट त्यांच्यावर जबरदस्तीने लादणे हे प्रकार टाळणे आवश्यक आहे. त्यांना त्यांच्या स्वत:च्या प्रतिभेनुसार निर्णय घेऊ द्यावेत.

वर उल्लेख केलेल्या दोन विचार प्रणालीतील दुसऱ्या प्रकारची विचार प्रणाली ही पं.जवाहरलाल नेहरुंच्या वरील विचारांशी लागू आहे. आतापर्यंत शासनामार्फत आदिवासी विकासांच्या संदर्भात जे डावपेच (Stratagem) वापरले आहेत ते वरील दुसऱ्या प्रकारच्या विचारप्रणालीवरच आधारीत आहेत. जर पहिली विचारप्रणाली आपण स्विकारली असती तर निश्चितच आदिवासींची मूळ संस्कृती व परंपरा आपणास दिसल्या नस्त्या. दुसऱ्याप्रकारच्या विचार प्रणालीमुळेच आदिवासी संस्कृती व परंपरा यांच्या जतनासह आदिवासींचा विकास तर निश्चितच साधत आहे. मात्र त्याचा वेग खूपच मंद आहे, असे वाटते.

शासनामार्फत आदिवासी विकासा संदर्भात जे प्रयत्न केले जात आहेत, याबाबत आपण पुन्हा एकदा त्यांचे सिंहावलोकन करणे गरजेचे आहे. आदिवासी माणूस तो ज्या वसतीवर राहतो तो पाडा किंवा वाडी व तेथे राहणारा त्यांचा आदिवासी समाज, या गोष्टी आपणास विकासाच्या दृष्टीने नजरेआड करुन चालणार नाहीत. विकासामध्ये त्यांच्या प्रतिभेचा आपणास वापर करुन घ्यावा लागेल. आदिवासी विकासाच्या योजना हया बाहेरच्या लोकांकडून (Outsider) ठरविल्या जात आहेत. त्यामुळे मूळ आदिवासींच्या गरजांकडे, त्यांच्यातील प्रतिभेकडे, गुणांकडे आपण एकप्रकारे दुर्लक्षच करीत आहोत. त्यांना तंचे प्रश्न स्वत: सोडविण्यासाठी मदत केली पाहिजे. परंतू, आदिवासी विकासाची दिशा ही त्यांच्या कलाने ठरविली गेली पाहिजे. याकरिता पंचायत राज पध्दतीचा मोठया खुबीने वापर करणे गरजेचे ठरणार आहे. ज्यावेळी आपण त्यांचा विकासातील सहभाग वाढवू. त्यावेळी त्यांच्यातील एकाकीपणा दूर होण्यास मदत होईल. तसेच पं.नेहरुच्या विचाराशी प्रामाणिक राहून आपण त्यांच्या एकाकीपणावर मात करु व आदिवासी विकासाला निश्चितच दिशा देऊ शकू !

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आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांचे शिक्षण : एक दृष्टीकोन

* श्री . करुण ता. हंबीर व श्री. नरेंद्र दा. देशमुख

आदिवासी समाज हा अति दुर्गम ग्रामीण भागात राहणारा आहे. आश्रमशाळेतील आदिवासी विद्यार्थी हे याच भागातून आलेले असतात. आपल्या भारतात अनेक जाती धर्म, विविध रीतीरिवाज व त्यांच्या विशिष्ट चालीरिती आहेत. या प्रमाणेच आदिवासी समाजाच्या चालीरती, समजूती यामध्ये सुध्दा आपणास विविधता बघायला मिळते. आदिवासी समाजावर आजही अंधश्रध्दा आणि अयोग्य चालीरितींचा प्रचंड पगडा पहायला मिळतो अशाच या आदिवासी समाजातून आदिवासी विद्यार्थी आश्रमशाळेच्या एका वेगळयाच सामाजिक, सांस्कृतिक बदलात आपल्या शालेय जीवनाची सुरूवात करीत असतात. आश्रमशाळा हया निवासी स्वरूपाच्या असल्यामुळे मुलांची तेथेच राहण्याची व्यवस्था असते. फारच थोडया शाळांमध्ये शाळेचे वर्ग व मुलांची राहण्याची व्यवस्था बघायला मिळते. या आश्रमशाळामध्ये मुलांना प्रवेश पहिल्या इयत्तेपासून मिळत असतो. नवीन प्रवेश घेतलेल्या मुलांना शाळेत पहिल्या दिवसापासून आपण कोणत्यातरी वेगळयाच जगात आलो आहोत अशी कल्पना होते.समोर शिक्षक काय शिकवितात? त्याहीपेक्षा, ते का शिकवितात? हे त्यांना कळत नाही. शिक्षण कशासाठी हे या विद्यार्थ्यांसमोर सर्वांत मोठे कोडे असते. आपणाला शिक्षण घेऊन काय साधायचे आहे याची कल्पनासुध्दा त्यांना नसते. आज आदिवासी समाजामध्ये सर्वात महत्त्वाची जागृती करावयाची म्हणजे शिक्षणाचे महत्त्व व त्याचे फायदे. एकदा जर का घरातील एखादी व्यक्ती किंवा वाडीतील (पाडा) व्यक्ती शिक्षण घेऊन कोठेतरी नोकरीवर लागते, या गोष्टीचा परिणाम वाडीतील (पाडा) इतर समाजावर अतिशय प्रभावीपणे पडत असतो.

नवीनच शाळेत येणाऱ्या आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना आपल्या शिक्षकांचे हावभाव, वागणूक हे त्यांच्या दृष्टीने जगावेगळेच असते. पहिल्या इयत्तेत प्रवेश घेणाऱ्या मुलांना सुरुवातीचा काळ खूपच कठीण जातो. आई वडीलांना सोडून घरापासून लांब ही चिमूरडी मुलं वसतीगृहात राहत असतात. या लहान मुलांना सांभाळणे शिक्षक व वसतीगृह अधिक्षक यांना एक आव्हानच असते. ३-४ वर्षे वसतीगृहात (आश्रमशाळेत) राहत असलेल्या मुलांचा या लहान मुलांना आधार असतो. हीच मोठी मुलं या लहान मुलांचे दादा-ताई, कारण ही मुलं त्यांच्या नात्यातली किंवा गावची

* होमी भाभा विज्ञान शिक्षण केंद्र,टाटा मूलभूत संशोधन संस्था,मानखुर्द, मुंबई

असतात. मात्र हळूहळू याच प्रतिकूल परिस्थितीत शिक्षकांचे विद्यार्थ्यांना आपुलकी, प्रेम मिळाले तर हे विद्यार्थी आपल्यावरती झालेले संस्कार कधीही विसरत नाहीत. आपणही असेच होऊ आणि शिक्षक जे काही शिकवतील तेच खरे, इथपर्यंत त्यांची खात्री होते. आपल्या आई वडिलांपेक्षाही या विद्यार्थ्यांचा विश्वास त्यांच्या शिक्षकांवर असतो आणि ते सांगतील त्याप्रमाणे वागण्याचा हे विद्यार्थी प्रयत्न करीत असतात. या सर्व बाबींवरुन आश्रमशाळेत शिक्षकांची भूमिका किती महत्त्वाची ठरु शकते हे लक्षात घेण्यासारखे आहे. आदिवासी विद्यार्थी जेंव्हा शाळेत प्रवेश घेतात त्या कालावधीत जर शिक्षकांनी त्यांच्यावर योग्य संस्कार व आपुलकी या विद्यार्थ्यांना दिली नाही तर मात्र शाळेतील विद्यार्थ्यांचे गळतीचे प्रमाण हळूहळू वाढायला सुरुवात होते आणि आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांच्या मनात शाळा, शिक्षक व शिक्षण याबद्दल एक तिरस्कार व नावड निर्माण होते ती कायमचीच !

साधारण आदिवासी विद्यार्थी हा इयत्ता ८ वीत गेल्यावर एका वेगळयाच विचारात असतो. या कालावधीत त्यांच्यामध्ये काही शारीरिक, वैचारिक व मानसिक बदल घडत असतात. या कालावधीत शिक्षकांकडून वेगळया प्रकारची वागणूक या विद्यार्थ्यांना आवश्यक आहे. जर शिक्षकांनी विद्यार्थ्यांना विश्वासात घेऊन त्यांची मानसिक अवस्था ओळखून संस्कारमय वागणूक दिली तर या वयातील विद्यार्थी शिक्षणात चांगली प्रगती करु शकतात. विद्यार्थ्यांच्या वैयक्तिक व अध्यापन विषयक अडचणी जर दूर केल्या तर शहरी आणि आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांत शैक्षणिक प्रगती बाबतीत फारसा फरक राहणार नाही. आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना शालेय जीवनात ' विद्या विनयेन शोभते ' या म्हणीचा अर्थ शिक्षकांनी आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना समजावून सांगितला तर नक्कीच शाळेतील गळतीचे प्रमाण व अभ्यासातील मागासलेपण आपोआपच कमी होईल. या कालावधीत जर शिक्षकांकडून विद्यार्थ्यांवर थोडासा जरी अनवधानाने अन्याय किंवा परकेपणाची वागणूक दिली गेली, तर मात्र त्यांचे शालेय जीवन इथेच संपुष्टात येते. बहुतेक आदिवासी विद्यार्थी शाळा सोडल्यानंतर आपल्या घरातील वडीलधाऱ्यांबरोबर काम करतात किंवा मोलमजुरी करतात. आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना शालेय शिक्षणाबरोबरच व्यावसायिक शिक्षण दिले गेल्यास त्यांचा रोजगाराचा प्रश्न सुटेल.

आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना येणाऱ्या शैक्षणिक अडचणी :

आश्रमशाळेतील सर्व विद्यार्थी हे दुर्गम भागातून आलेले असतात. त्यांची बोलीभाषा, पाठयपुस्तकातील भाषा आणि शिक्षकांची भाषा यामध्ये खूप मोठी तफावत आहे. विद्यार्थ्यांना मराठीत बोलण्याची सवय इयत्ता पहिली पासूनच लावली पाहिजे. विद्यार्थ्यांची ही भाषेची अडचण प्राथमिक स्तरावरच सुधारायला हवी. शिक्षकांच्या प्रयत्नात एक अडचण येते ती म्हणजे आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांचा अबोलपणा. विद्यार्थ्यांमध्ये अबोलपणा येण्याचे कारण

म्हणजे त्याला न समजलेला विषयाचा भाग आणि शिक्षकांना मराठी भाषेत प्रभावीपणे विचारण्याचे धाडस हया विद्यार्थ्यांना होत नाही. अशावेळी हे विद्यार्थी आपले विचार स्वतःच्याच मनात ठेवतात. यामधूनच विद्यार्थ्यांच्या मनात शिक्षकांविषयी भीती निर्माण होते. बऱ्याच शिक्षकांना आणि शिक्षण तज्ज्ञाना असे वाटते की आदिवासी विद्यार्थी अबोल असण्यामागे त्यांच्यातील आत्मविश्वासाचा अभाव. आमच्या केंद्राच्या एका प्रकल्पाअंतर्गत (आश्रमशाळा गुणवत्ता वाढ विकास प्रकल्प) आम्ही बऱ्याच आश्रमशाळांना भेटी दिल्या. शिक्षकांचे पाठ निरीक्षण, प्रयोगशाळांना भेटी, वर्गातील विद्यार्थ्यांसोबत गप्पागोष्ठी आणि शिक्षक व मुख्याध्यापकांसोबत चर्चा असे आमचे कामाचे नियोजन शाळांभेटी दरम्यान असायचे. या आश्रमशाळा भेटी दरम्यान आम्ही आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांमधील विद्यार्थी - विद्यार्थी आंतरक्रियेचा अभ्यास केला. या अभ्यासादरम्यान असे लक्षात आले की, हया मुलांमध्ये थोडयाश्या प्रयत्नानंतर आत्मविश्वास निर्माण करता येवू शकतो. विद्यार्थ्यांना एकदा आपलेसे केले व त्यांच्यात आत्मविश्वास निर्माण केला तर त्यांच्या गुणवत्तेत वाढ दिसून येते. आधुनिक वातावरणातील म्हणजेच शहरातील मुलं बोलकी असतात. शासनाने आश्रमशाळा या अतिदुर्गम भागात न ठेवता त्या कमीतकमी तालुक्याच्या ठिकाणी असाव्यात. दुर्गमभागात आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना शाळेची पाठयपुस्तके सोडल्यास दुसरे कोणतेही साहित्य वाचनासाठी उपलब्ध नसते. ही बाबसुध्दा लक्षात घ्यायला हवी.

शिक्षकांनी विद्यार्थ्यांमध्ये वाचनाची पध्दत आणि गोडी निर्माण करण्याबाबत नक्कीच विचार करायला हवा. शालेय स्तरावर आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना निबंधस्पर्धा, भाषणस्पर्धा किंवा तत्सम भाषाविषयक परीक्षांची माहिती आणि संधी दिली गेली तर त्यांच्या भाषाविकासास नक्कीच मदत होईल. शाळेमध्ये आणि वसतीगृहात मुलांना जास्तीत जास्त चांगली भाषा बोलण्याविषयी प्रोत्साहन द्यावे. शक्य असल्यास विविध साहित्य, वर्तमानपत्रे, मासिके विद्यार्थ्यांना उपलब्ध करुन द्यावे. आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना भाषणाची संधी, निबंधलेखन याची जोड दिली तर त्यांची भाषा नक्कीच समृध्द होईल. भाषेच्या अडचणीमुळे विद्यार्थ्यांमध्ये जो अबोलपणा येतो तो कमी करायचा असेल तर या विद्यार्थ्यांना जास्तीतजास्त बोलके करणे हेच उपयुक्त ठरेल.

शाळा भेटीदरम्यान व विद्यार्थ्यांसोबत चर्चा करताना आम्हाला असे जाणवले की पाठयपुस्तकातील विज्ञानाच्या संकल्पना, गणित-भूमिती विषयातील किचकट प्रमेय, इंग्रजीतील शब्द विद्यार्थ्यांना खूपच कठीण जातात. जेंव्हा विद्यार्थ्यांसोबत बरीच सखोल चर्चा केली तेंव्हा लक्षात आले की विद्यार्थ्यांना मूलभूत संकल्पना समजल्या नाहीत. या विद्यार्थ्यांना गणित आणि इंग्रजी या विषयांची खूपच भीती वाटते. त्यामुळे गणित शिक्षकांनी शिकविताना केवळ पाठयपुस्तकातील प्रमेय, उदाहरणे वर्गात

एकदम शिकविण्यास सुरुवात न करता, त्या संबधीच्या साध्यासोप्या वाटणाऱ्या मूलभूत संकल्पनांची उजळणी एकदा अवश्य घ्यावी. रेषा म्हणजे काय ? बिंदू म्हणजे काय ? इत्यादी संकल्पना खूप सोप्या वाटतात. परंतू विद्यार्थ्यांना मात्र हे कळायला कठीण जाते. शिक्षकांनी वर्गात मोजपट्टीवरील मि. मीटर व इंच हे सुध्दा शिकवावे. थोडक्यात विद्यार्थ्यांना हे शिकवित असताना मूलभूत गोष्टींसोबतच त्यांचा सहभाग घेणे आवश्यक आहे. आश्रमशाळेतील विद्यार्थ्यांना वनस्पती, प्राणी आणि निसर्ग याबाबत खूपच माहिती आहे. या त्यांच्या माहितीचा शिक्षकांनी आपल्या अध्यापनात उपयोग करुन घ्यावा. आश्रमशाळेतील विद्यार्थी कृती / प्रात्यक्षिक करण्यास उत्साही असतात. याही बाबींचा त्यांच्या जडणघडणीत शिक्षकांनी जास्तीत जास्त उपयोग करुन घ्यावा.

शिक्षकांनी एकदा का या विद्यार्थ्यांचा विश्वास संपादन केला तर त्या शिक्षकांना आपल्या दैनंदिन अध्यापनात विद्यार्थ्याकडून चांगला प्रतिसाद लाभतो. बऱ्याच विद्यार्थ्यांना आपणाला काही समजत नाही ही अनाठायी भीती असते. या भीतीपोटी हे विद्यार्थी शिक्षकांसमोर उभे राहून, हे मला कळले नाही, असे विचारण्याचे धाडस करत नाही. नेमक्या याच एका अडचणीमुळे या विद्यर्थ्यांचा पाया कच्चा राहतो आणि हे विद्यार्थी अभ्यासात मागे पडत जातात. विद्यार्थ्यांना बऱ्याच वेळा शिक्षक आणि पालक अभ्यास करा असे सांगतात. या विद्यार्थ्यांना अभ्यास कसा करावा ? अभ्यास म्हणजे नेमके काय ? केवळ वाचन म्हणजे अभ्यास ? प्रश्नोत्तरे लिहून काढणे म्हणजे अभ्यास ? विषय घटकाचे मनन करणे म्हणजे अभ्यास हे समजावून सांगणे आवश्यक आहे. विद्यार्थ्यांना शिक्षकांनी जे आपल्याला कळले नाही तेच आपल्यासमोर आव्हान कसे आहे, हे पटवून देणे गरजेचे आहे. जेणेकरुन या विद्यार्थ्यांमध्ये आत्मविश्वास वाढीस लागेल.

आश्रमात वेगवेगळया गावची (पाडयातील) मुले एकत्र राहत असतात त्यामुळे त्यांच्यामध्ये आपसात बऱ्याच गोष्टींवर चर्चा होते. अशावेळी मात्र हे विद्यार्थी शक्यतो आपल्या मायबोलीत बोलत असतात. अभ्यासाव्यतिरिक्त हे विद्यार्थी आपल्या कोणत्याही विषय शिक्षकांच्या बाबतीत चर्चा करीत असतात. तसेच या चर्चेमध्ये आपआपल्या गावाकडील खेळ, नाच, लग्न कशी होतात, आपले लोक अजून किती जुन्या चालीरीतींत वावरत आहेत तर दुसऱ्याच्या गावात अजून किती लोक अज्ञानी आहेत, असे एकमेकांना टोमणे मारणे व आपले गाव किती चांगले आहे ? हे दुसऱ्या गावातील ग्रुपला पटवून देण्याचा प्रयत्न करतात.

आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना शैक्षणिक स्पर्धांपेक्षा शारिरीक मैदानी खेळात अत्यंत आवड असते. कारण वंशपरंपरेनुसार आणि त्यांना लाभलेल्या काटकपणामुळे हया विद्यार्थ्यांच्या कलागुणांना वाव दिल्यास ते नक्कीच या खेळात चांगले खेळाडू तयार होतील. बऱ्याचवेळा खेळांच्या

ऑलिंम्पीयाड स्पर्धा बघताना असे वाटते भारताला आंतराष्ट्रीय स्पर्धांमध्ये सुवर्ण पदके हवी असतील तर आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांची वैयक्तिक व सांघिक खेळात तयारी करुन घ्या. जसे अमेरिकेमध्ये कृष्णवर्णीयांना खेळामध्ये प्राधान्य दिले जाते आणि त्यांना योग्य संधी व प्रशिक्षण लाभते. तसेच प्रशिक्षण व संधी आदिवासी विद्यार्थ्यांना शालेय स्तरापासून मिळाले तर हे विद्यार्थी खेळांमध्ये आपल्या देशाला सुवर्ण पदके नक्कीच मिळवून देणार. बौधिक, वत्कृत्व व निबंध लेखन स्पर्धेत मात्र विद्यार्थ्यांना आपण चांगल्याप्रकारे प्रत्येक विद्यार्थ्याला समजेल, आकलन होईल अशा पध्दतीने तयारी करुन घेतली तर याही क्षेत्रात गुणवंत विद्यार्थी तयार होऊन शैक्षणिक स्तर उंचावण्यास उशीर लागणार नाही. आश्रमशाळांमधून आमचे गुरुजन मुलांच्या विकासासाठी चांगले प्रयत्न करताना दिसत आहेत. या शिक्षणाला शहरी वातावरणची नक्कीच गरज आहे व महत्त्वाचा भाग म्हणजे आदिवासी समाजामध्ये शिक्षणाविषयी आत्मियता निर्माण करणे.

आश्रमशाळेतील विद्यार्थ्यांशी शिक्षणाबाबत चर्चा करतांना असें जाणवले की या मुलांना शिक्षणाची उद्दिष्टये आणि त्याचे फायदे या विषयी फारशी माहिती नाही. बरेच विद्यार्थी आपण कशासाठी शिक्षण घेतो असे विचारल्यास ते सांगतात, नोकरी करण्यासाठी, हिशोब येण्यासाठी. बऱ्याच मुलांना असा प्रश्न पडतो की हे क्लिष्ट शिक्षण कशासाठी असावे ? तर काही विद्यार्थ्यांच्या मते, शिक्षणामुळे आपल्या बुध्दीला चालना मिळते व या शिक्षणातूनच माणूस आपल्या विकासाची बाजू भक्कम करीत असतो. हा समज सर्वच विद्यार्थ्यांमध्ये रुजवणे गरजेचे आहे. आदिवासी समाजाला देशाच्या विकास प्रक्रियेत समाविष्ट करुन घ्यावयाचे असेल आणि विज्ञान-तंत्रज्ञानामुळे झालेल्या प्रगतीची फळे त्यांनासुध्दा चाखायला मिळावीत या दृष्टीने त्यांच्या शिक्षणात गुणात्मक बदल होणे आज काळाची गरज आहे. यासाठी शासन तर प्रयत्न करीतच आहे परंतु आदिवासी समाजामध्येसुध्दा शिक्षणाबद्दल आस्था व जागृती निर्माण होत आहे आणि शिक्षणाचे महत्त्व त्यांना कळत आहे. ही एक देशाच्या दृष्टीने आशादायी बाबच म्हणावी लागेल.

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मौखीक पावरा वाङःमय

* प्रा. डी. जी. पाटील

प्राथमिक काळात म्हणजे मानव जेंव्हा आदिम अवस्थेत होता, तेव्हां तो विशिष्ट हातवारे करुन तसेच आवाज व चित्कार काढून आपल्या मनातील भाव दुसऱ्यांशी संपर्क साधतांना व्यक्त करीत असे. त्याचबरोबर सभोवतालच्या पर्यावरणातील घडणाऱ्या घटनांचे निरीक्षण करीत असे, त्या संदर्भात जाणून घेत असे. या पध्दतीने सभोवतालच्या घटनांची माहिती आपल्या मनःपटलावर बिंबवून घेत असे. याद्वारे आणि विशिष्ट आवाज व हूंकार काढून पुढे तो बोलू लागला. त्यातून शब्द निर्मिती झाली. शब्दनिर्मितीबरोबर बोलीभाषेची (डायलेक्ट) निर्मिती अप्रत्यक्षपणे होत गेली. या भाषांचा अविष्कार घडू लागला आणि मानवी भाषेची उत्पत्ती झाली.

भाषांचा विचार करता मानवाच्या विशिष्ट समुहात विशिष्ट भाषेची उत्पत्ती होत गेली. ही भाषा समूहातील लोकांत एकमेकांशी व्यवहार करतांना किंवा संपर्क साधतांना विकसित होत गेली. मनुष्य त्यांच्या सभोवतालच्या घटनांचे निरीक्षण करीत असतांना आणि एकमेकांशी संपर्क साधतांना त्याच्या मनःपटलावर या सर्वांचा प्रभाव पडत गेला. या मनःपटलावरील प्रभावांचा तो प्रत्यक्ष व्यवहारात उपयोग करु लागला आणि त्याच्या विचार करण्याच्या बुध्दीची तीव्र धार वाढत गेली, त्याचबरोबर भाषेचा विकास होत गेला असे म्हणणे योग्य ठरेल. त्यातूनच कहाण्या, लोकगीते, म्हणी, वाक्प्रचार, उखाणे यांची निर्मिती होत राहिली, त्यातूनच भाषेचा विकास होत ती समृध्द बनू लागली. तसेच ही भाषा लेखी स्वरूपात मानवाकडून लिहिली जाऊ लागली आणि भाषेला लेखी स्वरूप प्राप्त झाले. अशी भाषा मोठया संख्येच्या समूहात विकसीत होवू लागली आणि तिला लिपीचे स्वरूप प्राप्त होऊन लेखी स्वरूपात सर्रास प्रचलित होत गेली. त्यातुन नागरी लिपीतील संस्कृत भाषा अस्तित्वात आली आणि या मुख्य संस्कृत भाषेतून हिंदी, मराठी, गुजराथी, बंगाली आदि भाषांची निर्मिती झाली. तर द्रविड भाषेतून कन्नड, तेलगु, तमीळी, मल्याळम आदि भाषांची निर्मिती झाली, तसेच रोमन या मुख्य लिपीतून इंग्रजी, फ्रेंच, जर्मनी आदि भाषांची निर्मिती झाली. याचप्रकारे जगातील निरनिराळया भागात अनेक भाषांची उत्पत्ती होत गेली.

वरील भाषांचा विचार करता त्यांचा जसा विकास होत गेला तसा आजही जगात आशा अनेक बोलीभाषांचा विकास होत गेला. त्या जगाच्या अनेक भागात आढळतात. या बोलीभाषा बोलणाऱ्यांचे काही मानवीसमुह काही हजार लोकसंख्येचे असतात. असे बोलीभाषा बोलणारे

१६, गणेश नगर, माहिदा रोड, शहादा, जिल्हा - नंदुरबार, शहादा - ४२५४०९.

लोक डोंगरदऱ्या, जंगल व काही विशिष्ट भूभागात रहातात. अशा बोलीभाषा बोलणारे मानवी समूहपण ज्या पर्यावरणात रहातात, त्या पर्यावरणातील वर सांगितलेल्या घडणाऱ्या घटनांचा व त्यांच्या समुहातील आचार-विचारांचा, देवाण-घेवाणीचा प्रभाव त्यांच्या मनःपटलावर पडत असतो, आणि त्यांचा परिणाम त्यांच्या विचार करण्याच्या मानवी गुणांमुळे कहाण्या, लोकगीते, म्हणी, वाक्प्रचार यांची निर्मिती होण्यात झाला.

भारतातील आदिवासींची बोलीभाषा आणि विशिष्ट भुभागात रहाणाऱ्या लोकांची बोलीभाषा यांचा विचार करता, या बोलीभाषा फक्त बोलण्यात किंवा मौखीक स्वरुपात प्रचलित असतात; असे असले तरी त्यांची बोलीभाषा कहाण्या, गीतं आदिंनी समृध्द असते. त्यात कहाण्या व लोकगीतांची रेलचेल असते. परंतु त्यांना लिहीण्याची लिपी किंवा लेखी स्वरूप प्राप्त झालेले नसते. परंतु अलीकडे बोलीभाषांना लेखी स्वरुप प्राप्त होत आहे. त्यासाठी बोलीभाषा बोलणाऱ्या मानवी समूहाच्या शेजारी असलेल्या बोलीभाषांचा आधार तेथील अभ्यासक घेत असतात.

आदिवासी पावरा वाङःमयाचा विचार करता आदिवासी पावरांची बोलीभाषा महाराष्ट्रातील सातपुडयाच्या परिसरात पावरी बोलीभाषा म्हणून ओळखली जाते. तेथे पावरी बोलीभाषेला मराठी भाषेचा आधार अभ्यासक घेत आहेत. आदिवासी पावरा सातपुडयात रहातात. मुलतः ते इकडे गुजरातकडून स्थलांतरीत म्हणून आलेले आहेत. महाराष्ट्रातील नंदुरबार, धुळे, जळगांव या जिल्हयातील सातपुडयाच्या परिसरात त्यांच्या वस्त्या आहेत. ते पावरी ही बोलीभाषा बोलतात. पावरी बोलीभाषा राजस्थानी, गुजराथी, हिंदी, निमाडी, मराठी, अहिरणी, भिल्लोरी, संस्कृत, उर्दू आदि भाषा व बोलीभाषा मिळून बनलेली आहे. संस्कृत, उर्दू भाषांचे शब्द या बोलीभाषेत कमी आढळतात, परंतु गुजराथी, हिंदी, त्या खालोखाल मराठी व अहिरणी भाषा व बोलीभाषांच्या शब्दांचा भरणा सर्वात जास्त आढळतो. तर त्यांच्या शेजारी रहात असणाऱ्या मराठी, अहिरणी, भील्लोरी या भाषा व बोलीभाषांचा प्रभाव पावरी बोलीभाषेवर आढळतो. साहजिकच पावरी वाङःमयात वरील भाषा व बोलीभाषांचाही प्रभाव आढळतो. संस्कृतमध्ये दूई म्हणजे दोन, उर्दूतील दऱ्या म्हणजे मोठी नदी . पावरा कहाण्यातून डूडोदर्या म्हणून आलेला आहे. आणि वर सांगितलेल्या भाषांचे शब्द पावरी बोलीभाषेत आढळतात. विस्तार भयामुळे काही मोजकी उदाहरणे येथे दिलेली आहेत.

पावरी बोलीभाषा कहाण्या, लोकगीते, म्हणी, वाक्प्रचार, उखाणे, शब्दकोडे आदि वाङःमय प्रकारांनी समृध्द आहे. त्यांना मौखीक स्वरुप होते. अभ्यासकांनी मराठीत प्रथमतः पावरी बोलीभाषेतील वाङःमयाला लेखी स्वरुप देण्याचा प्रयत्न केला आहे व होत आहे. त्यात आदिवासी कहाण्यात लोककथा उदा. खरीखांबाची कहाणी, सतुटभाऊ, बगळया भुताची कहाणी, नाकू, लबाड कोल्हा, हिरणराणी इ. तसेच धरतीची कहाणी,

अबाकूंबीची कहाणी, बिलटदेव, बिजलाकूवर, रुणजुदेवाची कहाणी, राणी काजलचा पाऊस, यहामोगीची कहाणी आदि देवकहाण्या सातपुडा परिसरातील पावरा बोलीभाषेत मौखीक स्वरुपात सांगितल्या जातात. या लोककथा व देवकहाण्यांमधून त्यांची समाज रचना , चालीरिती, देवदेवता, सणवार त्याप्रसंगीचा पूजाविधी आदिंची माहिती मिळते. त्याशिवाय त्यांच्या स्थलांतराचा इतिहासही कळतो. या कहाण्या आदिवासींच्या समूहात लोक-शिक्षणाचे कार्यही इतिहासकाळापासून करीत आहेत. या लोककहाण्यांमधून मानवावरील येणारी संकटे, अरिष्ठे आदिंचे वर्णन केलेले आढळते. आणि त्यातून मार्ग कसा काढावा यावर उपायही सांगितलेला आढळतो. तसेच सामाजिक चालीरिती, समाजातील श्रध्दा जपण्याचे कार्यही या कहाण्या करतात.

लोककहाण्यांप्रमाणेच लोकगीतांची रेलचेलही पावरी बोलीभाषेत आढळते. लग्नप्रसंगीची गाणी, लग्नातील रुसवेफुगवे, एकमेकांना टोमणे मारणे आदि गीतेही त्यात आढळतात. उदा. प्रथम मुलीला हळद लावत असतांना गाणे म्हटले जाते ते असे -

" हेदो तो लगाय दियी ना // धृ //
बाबी हा तु हेदो लगावे ना
भेना तो पाठलापे हाये ना
लूगडो तो आडू कैलो हाय
हेदो तो लगाय रीयी ना
डाया मिलीने पाटलो पूजताहा
हेदो ताहा विराई गीयी ना
तीरसींग पावऱ्या दुकान दुरुज हाये ना
तेलताहा विराई गीयी ना
तीरसींग पावऱ्या दुकान दुरुज हाये ना
हेदो ताहा लगाय गीयी ना
पाटलो ताहा पूजाय गीयी ना "

हयाचा अर्थ तुला हळद लावली जात आहे. ती हळद भाभी तुला लावतात. बेना तु पाटला आहे ना. वडिलधाऱ्या मंडळींनी तुझे पाटले पूजलेले आहे. तुला हळद लावतांना हळद सांडली गेली. तीरसींग पावऱ्याचे दुकान दूर आहे. तुला लावण्यासाठी आणलेले तेल सांडले गेले. तीरसींग पावऱ्याचे दुकान दूर आहे. आता हळद, तेल आणून तुला लावली गेली आहे. तुझे पाटले आता पूजले गेले.

हळदीचा कार्यक्रम झाल्यावर मुख्य लग्न लागते. पावरा बोलीभाषेत लग्नावरही गाणी म्हटली जातात. उदा. -

" आयती ओती वा बेना माडीन खुवामा
बोगरी फुलाच गयली निरा सरदारो
बायर घाणे मेले रा सरदारो
तेवी बेनी सुटे रा सरदारो
बंगला मे रा सरदार मांडया कूपऱ्या खेलाडो "

याचा अर्थ असा की, सात हजाराचा देज ऐकताच सरदाराचा चेहरा पार उतरला. बायकोला गहाण ठेवून तू आमची बहिण मिळवलीस. आता तुला घरात गुढघ्यावर व हाताच्या कोपऱ्यावर नाचवतो.

तसेच पावरा आदिवासींमध्ये युवक-युवतींचे प्रेमगीतही त्यांच्या बोलीभाषेत प्रचलित आहेत.

" वयडी तार घर रहा परमार

आवता जाता भांग पिये निंबाळया मारं
घरंछापऱ्या मा कूव खंद भायडे कामाय करं
चालवा पूरांय कामाय देखवो, कशी कामाय करं
ुकायने वाड वेल्या वसन वाड
शिवाय मा आवजी पुराय कशी मजा आवे "

अर्थ - अर्थात तुझ्या रस्त्यावरील टेकडीवर माझे घर आहे. येता जाता निंबळया भांग पिऊन माझ्या घरावरुन जातो. छपऱ्याशेजारी विहीर खोदली आहे. बरडयावर (टेकडीवर) पीक तयार आहे. चलगं पोरी पिक पहायला. पिक कसे आहे. मक्याचा वाडघा आहे. हिरव्यागार वेली वाडघ्यावर आहेत. पोरी तु हिवाळयात ये तेंव्हा कशी मजा येईल.

सातपुडा परिसरातील झाडे झुडपे, डोंगर-दऱ्या देवदेवता, सणवार यांवरील गीतंही प्रचलित आहेत.

उदा. इंदल उत्सवात खालील गाणे म्हणत असतात -

" इंदिराजा चौरेमा बोठयो, इंदिराजा बांदोडे बोये ओ

इंदिराजा लिंबोवो मेक्यो, इंदिराज़ा बांदोडे बोये ओ

इंदिराजा लुगडोने गुवयो, इंदिराजा बांदोडे बोये ओ

इंदिराजा कुकडाने भुक्यो, इंदिराजा बांदोडे बोये ओ

इंदिराजा बुकडाने भुक्यो, इंदिराजा बांदोडे बोये ओ "

याचा अर्थ इंदिराजा अंगणावर धोतर टाकून अंगणात चौरंगावर बसलेला आहे. इंदिराजाला नारळ, लिंबू अर्पण करा. इंदिराजा कोंबडा व बकऱ्याचा भुकेला आहे. पावरा लोक इंदलला सुख समृध्दीचा देव मानतात. त्याच्या कृपेने घरात बरकत येते.

या देवगीतांबरोबरच या बोलीभाषेत सणवार प्रसंगीचे गीतही म्हटली जातात. उदा. होळी सणावरील गीत पाहू -

" बावाने बुध्यान तियारी करे ऊलीबाय
गराह खाती जाहे.
भोंगऱ्या मेलादा लेती आवी ऊलीबाय
गुलदाल्या लेती आवी
बारा मयनामाय आवली ऊलीबाय
सुखने दु:खे लेती जाहे "

याचा अर्थ होळी सणासाठी बावाबुध्या तयारी करतात. होळीबाई नैवेदय खाते. भोंगऱ्या मेलादा होळीबाई घेवून आली. डाळ व गुळ घेऊन आली. बारा महिन्यातून होळी माय येते, सुख घेवून येते, दु:ख घेऊन जाते.

व्यवहारात विशिष्ट घटना घडतात. अशा घटना कायम स्वरुपी लक्षात रहातात. त्यांना अलंकारीक रुप दिले जाते. त्यातूनच म्हणी, वाक्प्रचारांचा उगम होतो. अशा म्हणी, वाक्प्रचारांची रेलचेल पावरी बोलीभाषेतील वाड:मयात प्रचूर आहेत. त्यातील काही म्हणी अशा -

१) " लाज गये च्यू भूके मरे " -
लाजेल तो उपाशी मरेल.

२) " धरम गाय, दात काहे गणे " -
फुकट मिळालेल्या गायीचे दात मोजायचे नसतात

३) " करनूं नी तीना डरनू नी "- कर नाही त्याला डर कशाला.

एकमेकांना कोडयात टाकणे, त्या प्रश्नांर्चा उकल करणे ही मानवाची उर्मी असते. याप्रमाणे बोलीभाषेत अनेक उखाणे आहेत. -

१) " एक हिलो ने चार हाणे "- एक काळी तिला चार पाय (म्हैस)

२) " जंगल मा रयणे वाली, रातला पाणी पिणारी, वूल इंडा मेकणेवाली ची कूण ?"-

जंगलात रहाणारी, लाल पाणी पिणारी, पांढरी अंडी देणारी ती कोण ? (ऊ)

याप्रमाणे कहाण्या, लोकगीतं, उखाणे व म्हणी, वाक्प्रचार आदि वाङ:मय प्रकार पावरा बोलीभाषेत मोठयाप्रमाणात प्रचलित आहेत.

वरील वाङ:मयप्रकाराची पावरी बोलीभाषेतील प्रचुरता पहाता ही बोलीभाषा मौखीक स्वरूपात असली तरी वरील वाङ:मय प्रकारांनी ती किती समृध्द आहे ते कळते. या पावरी वाङ:मयामुळे पावरा लोकांचा समूह, त्यांचे अंतरंग, प्रेम, विनोद, राग-लोभ आदि मानवी स्वभावाचेही चित्रण घडते.

संदर्भ - १) पावरा समाज व संस्कृती - प्रा.डी.जी.पाटील

२) आदिवासी पावरांच्या कथा - प्रा.डी.जी.पाटील

३) आदिवासी पावरांच्या देवकहाण्या - संपादक : प्रा.डी.जी. पाटील

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माडिया गोंड

*श्री.एम.एस.गायकवाड

प्रास्ताविक :

महाराष्ट्र राज्यात एकूण ४७ अनुसूचित जमाती आहेत. सन १९९१ च्या महाराष्ट्र राज्याच्या एकूण लोकसंख्येशी टक्केवारी ९.२७ एवढी होती. महाराष्ट्र राज्यातील एकूण ४७ अनुसूचित जमातीची १९९१ च्या जनगणनेनुसार एकूण लोकसंख्या ७३.२८ लाख एवढी आहे. एकूण ४७ अनुंसूचित जमातीपैकी केंद्र शासनाने महाराष्ट्रातील तीन अनुसूचित जमाती हया आदिम जमाती म्हणून घोषित केलेल्या आहेत.

माडिया या आदिम जमातीची स्वतंत्र लोकसंख्या जनगणना पुस्तकात उपलब्ध नाही तथापि, या संस्थेने केलेल्या बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षणाच्या आधारे माडिया या आदिम जमातीची प्रक्षेपित केलेली लोकसंख्या पुढील प्रमाणे आहे.

माडिया गोंड या आदिम जमातीची प्रक्षेपित केलेली लोकसंख्या

अ.क्र.	जमातीचे नांव	१९६१	१९७१	१९८१	१९९१
१.	माडिया गोंड (अंदाजित / प्रक्षेपित)	४२,७२०	५३,४००	६६,७५०	८३,४३७

वास्तव्य :

गोंड अनुसूचित जमातीची एक उपशाखा आहे. त्यास माडिया गोंड असे संबांधले जाते. माडियांच्या पुन्हा दोन उपशाखा असून त्यास पहाडी माडिया आणि विसनशिंगी माडिया असे दोन भेद आहेत. पहाडी माडिया या जमातीची लोकवस्ती प्रामुख्याने मध्यप्रदेशातील बस्तर जिल्हयात, महाराष्ट्रातील गडचिरोली व नागपूर जिल्हयातील काही तालुक्यात आहे.

*सांख्यिकी अधिकारी, आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्था, महाराष्ट्र राज्य, पुणे १

तक्ता-अ

जिल्हानिहाय माडिया गोंड गांवे व त्यांची लोकसंख्या *

अ.क्र.	जिल्हा	खेडयांची संख्या	कुटुंबांची संख्या	एकूण लोकसंख्या
१.	अमरावती	२	२	१३
२.	यवतमाळ	२	२	१०
३.	नागपूर	६	५१	२५४
४.	भंडारा	३	४	२१
५.	चंद्रपूर	१	१	८
६.	गडचिरोली	४९८	१३२९१	७६५९९
एकूण		**५१२**	**१३३५१**	**७६९०५**

* आधार : बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षण १९९६-९७

माडियांची घरे व स्वरुप :

एका गावात बहुदा सहा ते बारा झोपडया असतात. त्या झोपडया बहुधा एकाच कुटुंबाच्या संबंधितांच्या असतात. या झोपडयांचे छप्पर गवताचे आणि भिंती माती व बांबूच्या कामठया यांनी बनविलेले असते. घराभोवती छोटी बाग व काही वेळा शेती असते. घरांना बहुधा तीन खोल्या असतात. प्रत्येक खोली म्हणजे स्वतंत्र झोपडीच असते. स्वयंपाकघर, शयनघर व कोठी म्हणून त्या खोल्या वापरतात. घरे बहुधा स्वच्छ असतात. घराशेजारी डुकरांसाठी व गुरांसाठी गोठे असतात. सर्वसाधारणपणे प्रत्येक गावात ग्राम प्रमुखाच्या घराशेजारी एक प्रशस्त झोपडी बांधलेली असते. गावात येणाऱ्या पाहुण्यांची व्यवस्था त्या झोपडीत करतात. इतर वेळी तरुण मुले त्याचा सामुदायिक शयनगृह म्हणून उपयोग करतात, मुलींसाठी वेगळे शयनगृह असते. या संस्थेने केलेल्या बेंचमार्क सर्वेक्षणात माडिया गोंड जमातीच्या घराची मालकी घराच्या प्रकारानुसार वर्गीकरण तक्ता क्र.१ मध्ये नमूद केल्याप्रमाणे दिसून आले आहे. कृपया तक्ता क्र.१ पहावा.

उद्योग व व्यवसाय :

प्रामुख्याने माडिया जमातीचे लोक शेती करतात. जंगलातील काही झाडे तोडून ती वाळवतात. वाळलेली झाडे, फांदया, पाने इ. शेतात पसरुन ती जाळतात. त्या राखेत बी पेरतात. काही वेळा झाडे तोडलेल्या जागीच हे सर्व करतात. भात, कुटकी बाजरी, भोपळे, वाटाणा, काकडी, पावटा इ. पिके ते काढतात.

जंगलातील कंदमुळे, फळे, बांबूच्या कोंबाची भाजी ते गोळा करतात. कोंबडया,

बकरी, गाई व डुकरे इ. पाळतात. शिकार करणे व मासे मारणे हे त्याचे आवडीचे उद्योग आहेत. स्वतःच्या उपयोगाकरिता ते पानांच्या किंवा बांबूच्या टोपल्या व चटया विकतात. बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षणाच्या माहितीवरुन माडिया जमातीचे लोक दुग्ध व्यवसाय फारचं अल्प प्रमाणात करतात असे दिसते. तथापी, माडिया जमातीच्या व्यवसायाचे स्वरुप स्पष्ट होण्यासाठी त्यांचे मुख्य व दुय्यम व्यवसायासंबंधी बेंचमार्क सर्वेक्षणावर आधारीत तक्ता क्र.२ मध्ये तपशील दर्शविलेला आहे. कृपया तक्ता क्र.२ पहावा.

भात, कंदमुळे, फळे, मांस व मासे असा यांचा आहार असतो. ताडीची व मोहाची दारु ही यांची पेये आहेत. तांदूळ व ज्वारी यापासून बनविलेले मद्य यांना फार आवडते. इतर मद्यांच्या जोडीने ते घेतले असता, माणूस एकदम हिंसाचाराला प्रवृत्त होतो. माडिया लोकांत खुनाचे प्रमाण अधिक आढळते. जन्म, विवाह, मृत्यू, सण, उत्सव इत्यादी प्रसंगी हे लोक खूप दारु पितात.

हे लोक जी बोली बोलतात तिला **माडिया** असेच नांव आहे.

विवाहप्रथा व व्यवस्था :

मुले/मुली वयात आल्यावर लग्ने होतात. आते/मामे भांवडात लग्न होतात. लग्न आई / बाप ठरवितात. मुलाचा बाप मुलीला मागणी घालतो, मुलीच्या घरी जाताना तो तांदळाच्या किंवा मोहाच्या दारुचे एक मडके व पायलीभर तांदूळ घेऊन जातो. मुलीला मागणी घालावयाची भाषा ठरलेली आहे. ती पुढीलप्रमाणे आहे. तुमच्या बागेत एक फूल उमलले आहे असे ऐकतो, ते खुडून आम्ही आमच्या केसांत खोवण्यासाठी इथे आलो आहे. मुलीच्या बापाला हा संबंध पसंत असेल, तर तो मुलाच्या बापाकडचे मद्याचे मडके घेतो आणि त्याच्यातील थोडे मद्य कोठीच्या खोलीतील पितरांच्या मडक्यापुढे ओततो व उरलेले मद्य जमलेले सर्वजण पितात. अशा प्रकारे विवाह ठरविला जातो.

मुलीसाठी देज द्यावे लागते. मोठी मडकी तांदळाची दारु, तांदूळ, मोहाची दारु, डुक्कर किंवा बोकड, एक कोंबडा आणि मुलीच्या आईसाठी चार वार कापड किंवा साडी इ. देज असते. लग्नाचा मुहूर्त पुरोहित ठरवतो. मुहूर्ताच्या दिवशी वरपक्षाकडील मंडळी वधूच्या गावी जातात. वरपित्याने देज दिले की, लग्नातील विधींना सुरुवात होते. सुवासिनींनी वधूला जवळच्या झऱ्यावर स्नान घालणे हा पहिला विधी होय. दरम्यानच्या काळात गावातील स्त्रिया एक लांबच लांब रांग करुन उभ्या राहतात, हातात हात गुंफून गाणे गातात. सूर्य मावळतीला गेल्यावर मुलीचा बाप मुलीला घराबाहेर आणतो. नंतर तो वराजवळ जाऊन मुलीची काळजी घेण्याबद्दल त्याला विनंती करतो आणि वधू-वरांचे हात जुळवतो. वधू-वर एकमेकांना आंगठया घालतात. तद्नंतर सर्वजण वराच्या गावी जातात. वधूला द्यावयाच्या भेटवस्तू एकत्र करतात, वर तिथून पुढे जाऊन वधूच्या स्वागताची तयारी करतो. वधू मिरवीत मिरवीत वरगृही जाते व

अशा रितीने माडियांचा लग्नसोहळा पार पडतो.

सण व उत्सव :

माडिया जमातीचे काही ना काही उत्सव चालूच असतात. ते वर्षारंभी भीमल देवतेचा उत्सव करतात. त्यानंतर मोहवृक्षाचा उत्सव येतो. त्याची पूजाअर्चा केल्याशिवाय त्याची फुले खाता येत नाहीत किंवा फुलांपासून मद्यही काढता येत नाही. फाल्गुन महिन्यात सामुहिक मासेमारीचा व आम्रवृक्ष गौरवाचा असे दोन उत्सव येतात. चैत्रात सामुहिक शिकारीचा व पुढे पावसाळयात पेरायचे बी पवित्र करायचा असे दोन समारंभ असतात. पिके तयार झाल्यावर नवे धान्य येते व त्यावेळी नवीन धान्याचा उत्सव साजरा केला जातो. त्यांना कोंबडयांच्या झुंजी लावणेही आवडते.

पोषाख :

पहाडी माडिया पुरुष फक्त एक कटिवस्त्र नेसतात. स्त्री पुरुष बहुधा रोज स्नान करतात पण कपडे मात्र रोज धूत नाहीत. यांच्या झोपडयाही नव्या व स्वच्छ असतात. उखडलेली जमीन कधी सारवत नाहीत. पुरुष डोक्याचा घेरा करतात, अलिकडे काही पुरुष टोपी घालतात. स्त्रिया भांग पाडून केसांचा मागे अंबाडा बांधतात. पुरुषांच्या गळयात मण्यांच्या एक दोन माळा असतात. त्यांच्या कानात जस्ताची मोठी रिंग असते. स्त्रियांच्या गळयात रंगीबेरंगी मण्यांच्या माळा व लोखंडी व पितळी गोल सळया असतात. पहाडी माडियांचा नृत्यवेष मात्र विसनशिंगी माडियापेक्षा वेगळा असतो. काही पुरुष डोक्याला पांढरे किंवा लाल पागोटे किंवा टॉवेल बांधतात. ते पायाभोवती गोल लुंगी गुंडाळतात आणि त्यावर पांढरे फडके गुंडाळतात. त्यांच्या कमरेला कोयता खोचलेला असतो. कुऱ्हाडी, भाले व धनुष्यबाण ही त्यांची प्रमुख आयुधे आहेत.

शैक्षणिक प्रगती :

आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्थेने केलेल्या बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षणांतर्गत आकडेवारीवरुन या जमातीत ५०% लोक निरक्षर आहेत असे दिसून येते. स्त्रियांची साक्षरता पुरुषांपेक्षा कमी आहे. एकूण ३,६१,८३६ पैकी १,८७,००३ लोक निरक्षर आहेत तर १९९७-९८ वर्षापर्यंत या जमातीत पुरुष ६४८ पदवीधर होते, तर वैद्यकीय व तांत्रिक पदवीधर अनुक्रमे ५ व १७ एवढेच लोक शिक्षित असल्याचे दिसून आले आहे. माडिया जमातीची शैक्षणिक प्रगती तक्ता क्र.३ मध्ये शैक्षणिक स्तरानुसार वर्गीकरण व सविस्तर आकडेवारी बेंचमार्क सर्वेक्षणाच्या आधारे दर्शविलेली आहे. कृपया तक्ता क्र.३ पहावा.

विकास योजनांतर्गत माडिया :

बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षणांत केलेल्या पाहणीतील एकूण ३९,७५६ कुटुंबांपैकी १३,८५६ कुटुंबांना आदिवासी उप योजनांतर्गत लाभ अद्याप मिळालेला नाही. उरलेल्या २५,९०० आदिवासी उपयोजनांतर्गत वेगवेगळया योजनांतर्गत लाभ मिळालेला आहे. त्यांची टक्केवारी ६६% इतकी आहे. जिल्हानिहाय लाभ मिळालेल्या न मिळालेल्या कुटुंबांची माहिती

खालील तक्त्यात नमूद केलेली आहे तक्ता क्र.४. पहावा.

माडिया आदिम जमातीची सामाजिक व आर्थिक प्रगती होण्यासाठी सर्वसाधारण खालील उपायोजना कराव्यात, असे प्राप्त आकडेवारीच्या आधारे वाटते.

शिफारशी

१. पहाडी माडिया हा माडिया गोंड म्हणून ओळखला जातो. प्रामुख्याने सदर जमात पहाडी व दुर्गम भागात राहत असल्यामुळे शासनाच्या कल्याणकारी योजना व शासन सुविधा त्यांच्या जमातीस उपलब्ध होत नाही. म्हणून लहान वाडी/पाडा जो अति दुर्गम व पहाडी भागात बसलेला आहे, त्याचे सुपीक व रस्त्यांनी जोडलेल्या भूभागात पुनर्वसन करावे. या पुनर्वसन कामांतर्गत त्यांना राहण्यासाठी घर जमीन उपलब्ध करुन देण्यात यावी. शक्यतो या जमातीचा एक पाडा एका ठिकाणी समूहाने (एकत्रित) पुनर्वसित करावा.

२. माडिया जमातीची बहुतांश घरे कच्च्या स्वरुपाची व झोपडी प्रकारातील आहेत. म्हणून शासनामार्फत या जमातींना इंदिरा आवास या योजनेअंतर्गत पक्की घरे देण्यांची व्यवस्था प्राधान्याने करावी, असे वाटते.

३. माडिया जमातीचा प्रमुख व्यवसाय शेती व शेतमजूरी असून या जमातीसाठी शेती मधून उत्पन्न वाढविण्याचे वेगवेगळे कार्यक्रम राबविणे आवश्यक आहे.

उदाहरणार्थ-बिगर ओलिताखालील शेतजमीन ओलीताखाली आणणे, विद्युतपंप बसविणे, जमीन सपाटीकरण व सुधारीत अवजारे व बियाणे यांचे वाटप करुन शेती माध्यामातून त्यांच्या उत्पन्नात वाढ होणे आवश्यक आहे.

४. माडिया जमातीमध्ये जन्मविवाह, मृत्यु, सण व उत्सव इ.प्रसंगी या जमातीचे सर्व लोक दारु पितात. त्या दारु पिण्याच्या रुढीमुळे बहुतांशी कुटूंब प्रमुख दारुच्या व्यसनाधीन होतात. अशा आर्थिक प्रगतीला प्रतिबंध करणाऱ्या रुढी व परंपरा कमी करण्याकरिता जनजागृती व आवश्यक ते दारुबंदी प्रतिबंधक कायदे कटाक्षाने राबविल्यास त्या जमातीच्या लोकांची आरोग्यविषयक व आर्थिक हानी कमी होण्यास मदत होईल.

५. माडिया आदिम जमातीमधील साक्षरता अतिशय कमी आहे. उदा.सन १९९१ च्या जनगणनेनुसार पुरुष साक्षरता ३० टक्के व स्त्री साक्षरता १६ टक्के असून पुरुष व स्त्रिया एकत्रित सरासरी साक्षरता २२ टक्के इतकी आहे.

बेचंमार्क सर्वेक्षणांतर्गत गडचिरोली जिल्हयातील काही पाडयामध्ये स्त्री साक्षरता शून्य टक्के आहे. या सर्व बाबींचा विचार करुन तसेच स्थानिक प्रश्नांचा व व्यवस्थेचा विचार करुन या जमातीसाठी शिक्षण समूह योजना राबविणे आवश्यक आहे.

६. माडिया जमात प्रामुख्याने गडचिरोली जिल्हा व परिसरातील दुर्गम भागातील पाडे/वाडया/वस्ती यावर राहत असून या भागात पर्जन्यमान चांगले असुनसुध्दा जंगल प्रतिबंधक कायद्यांतर्गत अडचणीमुळे मोठी व मध्यम सिंचन प्रकल्प राबविता येत नाही. तथापि, आस्तित्वात असलेल्या नदीनाल्यांवर छोटे छोटे बंधारे बांधून त्या बंधाऱ्यातून शेतीसाठी उपसा जलसिंचन योजना राबविता येणे शक्य आहे.

जिरायीत जमीनीचे बारमाही ओलिताखाली जमीनीत रुपांतर केल्यास या जमातीचे उत्पन्न ५ पटीने वाढण्यास मदत होईल. म्हणून सिंचन सुविधा उपलब्ध करुन देणे आवश्यक आहे.

७. सिंचन बंधाऱ्यात शासनामार्फत मत्स्यबीज सोडून मासेमारीचा व्यवसाय त्यांच्यासाठी या क्षेत्रात राखीव ठेवण्यात यावा. या व्यवसायामुळे त्यांना सकस आहार व दुय्यम रोजगार उपलब्ध होईल.

संदर्भ :- बेंचामार्क सर्वेक्षण १९९६-९७

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आर-८
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तक्ता क्र. १

निवासी घरांच्या मालकी व प्रकारानुसार आदिम जमात माडिया गोंड कुटुंबांचे वर्गीकरण

अ. क्र.	जिल्हयाचे नांव	एकूण कुटुंबे	घराच्या मालकीनुसार कुटुंबांची वर्गवारी					घरांच्या प्रकारानुसार राहणाऱ्या कुटुंबांची वर्गवारी					
								कच्ची घरे		पक्की घरे			
			स्वतःचे घर	इंदिरा आवास योजना	गृहनिर्माण योजना	भाडयाचे घर	इतर	झोपडी	मंगलोरी कौलांची झोपडी	मंगलोरी कौलांची पक्की घरे	फळांचे छप्पर असलेली पक्की घरे	आर.सी.सी. मध्ये बांधकाम केलेली घरे	इतर
१.	अमरावती	२	२	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
२.	यवतमाळ	२	२	०	०	०	०	०	१	१	०	०	०
३.	नागपूर	५१	४९	०	०	१	१	२	९	४०	०	०	०
४.	भंडारा	४	३	१	०	०	०	२	१	१	०	०	०
५.	चंद्रपूर	१	१	०	०	०	०	०	०	१	०	०	०
६.	गडचिरोली	१३२९१	१२६४७	४१८	१०१	७३	५२	१९१६	९५६८	१५४५	९३	२४	१४५
एकूण		१३३५१	१२७०४	४१९	१०१	७४	५३	१९२०	९५८१	१५८८	९३	२४	१४५

आधार : बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षण १९९६-९७ च्या माहितीवर सांख्यिकी मालिका क्रमांक ४

तक्ता क्र. २

माडिया गोंड या आदिम जमातीचा मुख्य व दुय्यम व्यवसायाचे वर्गीकरण

अ. क्र.	जिल्हयाचे नांव	कुटुंब संख्या	मुख्य व्यवसाय (१) दुय्यम व्यवसाय (२)	व्यवसायानुसार आदिवासी कुटुंबांचे वर्गीकरण						
				शेती	दुग्धव्यवसाय	शेतमजुरी	नोकरी	लघुउद्योग	जंगलमजुरी	इतर
१.	अमरावती	२	१	०	०	१	०	०	१	०
			२	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
२.	यवतमाळ	२	१	०	०	२	०	०	०	०
			२	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
३.	नागपूर /वर्धा	५१	१	२२	०	२५	४	०	०	०
			२	३	२	२२	०	०	५	५
४.	भंडारा	४	१	१	०	२	१	०	०	०
			२	१	१	१	०	०	१	१
५.	चंद्रपूर	१	१	१	०	०	०	०	०	०
			२	०	०	१	०	०	०	०
६.	गडचिरोली	१३२९१	१	१०१२०	१८	२२३०	१९३	२४	३६४	४२
			२	५४७	५६१	५५७७	२०	६५	६५६३	१४७२
एकूण		**१३३५१**	**१**	**१०१४४**	**१८**	**२२६०**	**१९८**	**२४**	**३६५**	**४२**
			२	**५५१**	**५६४**	**५००१**	**२०**	**६५**	**६५६९**	**१४७८**

आधार : बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षण १९९६-९७ च्या माहितीवर सांख्यिकी मालिका क्रमांक ४ आहार :

/तक्ता क्र. ३

माडिया गोंड या जमातीचे शैक्षणिक स्तरानुसार वर्गीकरण

अ. क्र.	जिल्हयाचे नांव	एकूण कुटुंबे	एकूण व्यक्ती (० ते ६ वर्ष वयोगट वगळून)	निरक्षर	लिहिता व वाचता येणारे	शैक्षणिक विषयी											
						४ थी पर्यंत	७ वी पर्यंत	१० वी पर्यंत	१२ वी पर्यंत	औद्योगिक प्रशिक्षण	पदविका	कला / वाणिज्य / शास्त्र	अभि- यांत्रिकी	वैद्यकीय	पद- व्युत्तर	पद- विका + द्विपद- वीधर	डॉक्टर
१.	अमरावती	२	८	६	०	२	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
२.	यवतमाळ	२	७	४	०	३	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
३.	नागपूर / वर्धा	५१	२११	८६	३१	४४	३५	१५	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
४.	भंडारा	४	१९	५	१	२	६	३	२	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
५.	चंद्रपूर	१	६	३	३	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
६.	गडचिरोली	१३२९१	६१४१४	४७२६३	१२४२	७७७९	२९८१	१६९७	३८६	१२	१९	२३	०	६	५	०	०
	एकूण	१३३५१	६१६६५	४७३६७	१२७७	७८३०	३०२२	१७१५	३८८	१२	१९	२३	०	६	५	०	०

आधार : बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षण १९९६-९७ च्या माहितीवर सांख्यिकी मालिका क्रमांक ४

तक्ता क्र. ४

माडिया गोंड या आदिम जमातीतील लोकांना योजनांचा लाभ मिळालेल्या व लाभ न मिळालेल्या कुटुंबांचे वर्गीकरण

अ.क्र.	जिल्ह्याचे नांव	एकूण कुटुंबे	लाभार्थी कुटुंबे	लाभ न मिळालेली कुटुंबे	योजनांचा लाभ न मिळालेल्या माडिया गोंड कुटुंबांची वर्गवारी							योजनेचा लाभ न मिळणाऱ्या माडिया गोंड कुटुंबांची एकूण कुटुंबांशी टक्केवारी
					योजनांची माहिती नसणे	कागद-पत्रांची पूर्तता नसणे	अंमल-बजावणी अधिकाऱ्याची उदासिनता	योजनेचा लाभ घेण्यासाठी आवश्यक असणारी रक्कम भरता न येणे	थकबाकीदार	योजनेचा लाभ मिळण्या साठी होणारी दिरंगाई	इतर (स्पर्धा/ बहिष्कार)	
१.	अमरावती	२	२	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
२.	यवतमाळ	२	२	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
३.	नागपूर / वर्धा	५१	३६	१५	४	२	०	११	०	०	०	२९
४.	भंडारा	४	४	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
५.	चंद्रपूर	१	१	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०	०
६.	गडचिरोली	१३२९१	९९८३	३२३८	२५३५	५१३	१४२	१२४	१२९	५५	१०७	२४
	एकूण	१३३५१	१००२८	३२५३	२५३९	५१५	१४२	१३५	१२९	५५	१०७	२४

आधार : बेंच मार्क सर्व्हेक्षण १९९६-९७ च्या माहितीवर सांख्यिकी मालिका क्रमांक ४

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गांडुळ खताची निर्मिती-आदिवासींना आर्थिक उत्पन्न मिळकतीचा लघुउद्योग

*इंदरशहा मडावी

आजचे युग हे स्पर्धांचे युग म्हणून ओळखले जाते. विकास क्षेत्रात कल्पकता असल्यास प्रगतीचे नवे मार्ग खुले होतात. मात्र अशा व्यक्तीमध्ये चिकाटी, जिद्द असणे अनिवार्य ठरते.

राज्यातील अनुसूचित जमातीच्या लोकांना व्यवसायाच्या विविध साधनाद्वारे स्वयंरोजगार उपलब्ध व्हावा या हेतूने शबरी आदिवासी वित्त व विकास महामंडळाची शासनाने निर्मिती केली. विकास प्रवाहामध्ये आदिवासी नागरिक अन्य समाजाचे बरोबरीने पुढे यावा व स्वत:चा आर्थिक विकास साधावा हा यामागील उद्देश आहे. परंतू लघुउद्योग निर्माण करण्यामध्ये आदिवासींना पाहिजे त्याप्रमाणात यश संपादन करता आले नाही असेच म्हणावे लागेल.

शबरी आदिवासी वित्त विकास महामंडळ हे केंद्र शासनाच्या एन.एस.एफ.डी.सी.या महामंडळाची चॅनेलायिझिंग एजन्सी म्हणून कार्य करीत आहे. केंद्र शासनाच्या अनुसूचित जाती/जमाती वित्त व विकास महामंडळ, नवी दिल्ली पुरस्कृत कार्यक्रमाखाली मुदत कर्ज (टर्म लोन) स्वरुपात वित्त सहाय्य करीत असते. शबरी आदिवासी वित्त व विकास महामंडळ एकूण ८७ विविध व्यवसाय योजना राबवित आहेत. स्वत:च्या गांवामध्ये लघुउद्योग निर्माण करण्यासारख्या व्यवसाय योजनांचा यात समावेश आहे. ज्या व्यवसायासाठी कर्ज घ्यावयाचे आहे, त्यानुसार विशिष्ट पात्रता, परवाना, व्यवसायासाठी जागा, तांत्रिक प्रशिक्षण, पूर्वानुभव आवश्यक ठरविण्यात आले आहे. पात्र उमेदवारांना दरसाल दर शेकडा ७ ते ९ अशा सरळ व्याज दराने एन.एस.एफ.डी.सी.ने रुपये ५०००/- पासून पुढे कर्ज पुरविण्याची सोय केली आहे.

शासनाच्या विविध विभागामार्फत आदिवासी युवकांना स्वयंरोजगाराचे प्रशिक्षण दिले जात आहे. महाराष्ट्र राज्य सहकारी वन विकास महामंडळ आदिवासींना प्रशिक्षण देण्याचा उपक्रम राबवित आहे. गांडूळ खताची निर्मिती कशी करावी याबाबतची तांत्रिक माहिती प्रशिक्षणाच्या माध्यमातून देऊन स्वत:च्या गांवातच गांडूळ खत प्रकल्प उभारण्यास प्रोत्साहन दिले गेले आहे. अत्यंत कमी खर्चात व सुलभ साधन संपत्तीवर गांडूळखत प्रकल्प उभा राहू शकतो. मात्र गांडूळ खत तयार करण्याचे तंत्रज्ञान जाणून घेणे महत्वाचे आहे.

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रासायनिक खताच्या किंमतीत सतत वाढ असून त्यांच्या उत्पादनास आवश्यक असणारे पेट्रोलजन्य पदार्थ सातत्याने कमी होत आहेत. रासायनिक खताच्या अतिवापरामुळे जमिनी खराब होत आहेत. अशा परिस्थितीत कमी खर्च येणारे उत्तम प्रतीचे गांडुळ खत वापरणे हा योग्य पर्याय आहे. वाया जाणाऱ्या काडी, कचऱ्याचे गांडुळ खतात रुपांतर करण्याचे सोपे तंत्र विकसित करण्यात आले आहे. रसायनिक खताच्या अधिक वापरामुळे गांडुळ प्राण्याचे अस्तित्व नष्ट होत आहे. गांडुळ हा नर व मादी या दोन्ही संस्था असलेला उर्पलिंगी प्राणी आहे. त्यास दृष्टीचे अवयव नसतात. हा प्राणी ओलसर जागेत अर्धवट कुजलेल्या सेंद्रीय पदार्थावर उपजिविका करतो. माती मिश्रीत पदार्थ खाऊन जमिनीच्या पृष्ठभागावर दिलेल्या विष्ठेच्या स्वरुपात बाहेर टाकतो. बाहेर पडणाऱ्या द्रव्ययुक्त घटकामुळे वनस्पतींना पोषक आणि वाढवर्धक द्रव्ये मिळतात. अन्नघटकाचे विघटन वेगात होते. आणि जमिनीचा पोत सुधारतो. गांडूळ प्राणी दगडांचे बारीक तुकडे करुन त्याचे मातीत रुपांतर करुन जमीन भुसभुसीत करतो.

अर्धवट कुजलेली माती मिश्रीत अन्न तोंडातून आत गेल्यावर गिझार्ड या चक्कीसारख्या अवयवात जातो आणि त्याचे अन्न बारीक करण्याची प्रक्रिया केली जाते. अन्नाचे पचन होऊन त्याचे वित्सर्जन होते. त्याला गांडुळखत किंवा व्हर्मिकॉस्ट असे म्हणतात.

गांडूळ खताच्या निर्मितीसाठी पाण्याचा निचरा होणारी व सावलीची व्यवस्था असणारी जमीन निवडावी. हा प्राणी सूर्यप्रकाशाला अत्यंत संवेदनशील असल्यामुळे त्यांच्या संरक्षणास सावलीची गरज भासते. आवश्यकतेनुसार सुमारे ३० फूट रुंद व ३० ते ६० फूट लांब आणि १० फूट उंचीच्या शेडची उभारणी करावी. अशा शेडमध्ये ३ फूट आणि अर्धा फूट खोल चर खोदावेत. प्रथम चार इंच उंचीपर्यंत कुजणाऱ्या काडया, पराटया, ऊसाचे चापड इत्यादीने भरुन त्यावर पाणी मारावे त्यानंतर अर्धवट कुजलेले आणिक पोयटा मिश्रीत मसतीचा चार इंचाचा भर द्यावा. परत हा थर ओला होईपर्यंत पाणी शिंपडावे. अशा ३ फूट रुंद व ३० फूट लांब आकाराच्या एका घरात एक हजार गांडुळे एक किलो समप्रमाणात पसरवून टाकावीत. या घरात परत काडी कचऱ्याचे तुकडे व शेणखत एकत्र करुन १० ते १२ इंच जाडीचा थर देऊन पाणी मारावे. पुन्हा असा एकदा थर देऊन ओल्या गवताने किंवा गोणपाटाने झाकून ठेवावे. ओलावा टिकवून ठेवण्यासाठी झारीने पाणी पुरवावे. उष्णतामानाचा विचार करुन दिवसातून दोनदा पाणी फवारावे. साधारण चार ते दहा आठवडयानी व्हर्मिकपोस्ट तयार होते. बेडमधील गांडुळाची संख्या सतत वाढत जाते. अशी शंभर किलो गांडुळे एका महिन्यात दोन टन गांडुळ खत तयार करु शकतात.

झाकलेल्या पोत्याला गांडुळ चिकटलेली दिसल्यास आणि खत हाताला रवाळ आणि भुसभुशीत व हलके लागल्यास व्हर्मि कंपोस्टखत तयार झाले असे समजावे. नंतर दोन दिवस पाणी मारणे बंद करावे.

वरचा थर कोरडा झाल्याने गांडुळ ओलावा शोधण्यासाठी खाली जातात व त्यानंतर वरच्या थरातील खत हलक्या हाताने काढून ढिग करावा. पुन्हा अर्धवट कुजलेला काडी कचरा मिश्रीत माती व शेणखत बेडवर पसरवून पाणी शिंपडावे म्हणजे गांडुळ पुन्हा खत निर्मितीचे कार्य करतात.

गांडुळ खतामुळे जमिनीचा पोत सुधारतो. पिकांचे उपयोगी सुक्ष्म जीवाची वाढ होते व जमिनीतील अन्नद्रव्याची वाढ होते. तसेच जमिनीतील अन्नद्रव्याची उपलब्धता वाढल्याने पिके जोमदार आणि चांगल्या गुणवत्तेची मिळतात.

बाहय वातावरणात ओलाव्याची आवश्यकता असल्याने पाणी शिंपडावे. परंतू चिखल होईल इतके पाणी शिंपडू नये. गांडुळांना खास म्हणून शक्यतो अर्धवट कुजलेल्या काडीकचऱ्याचा वापर करावा. गांडुळ खतात कोणतेही रासायनिक खते, किटकनाशके मिसळू नयेत. गांडुळ खत तयार झाल्यावर शक्यतो हातानेच बाहेर काढावे. म्हणजे गांडुळांना इजा होणार नाही. खतांचे बेडचे उंदिर, घुशी, कुत्रे, मांजरे, कोंडया, गोम इ.पासून संरक्षण करावे. पक्षी गांडुळांना खातात. म्हणून बेड गोणपाटाने झाकावेत.

महाराष्ट्र शासन हे गांडुळ खत निर्मितीसाठी आर्थिक सहाय्य देण्याचा उपक्रम राबवित आहेत, त्याचा फायदा आदिवासी शेतकरी बंधूनी घ्यावा व स्वतःचा आर्थिक विकास साधावा.

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भवाडयाचे मुखवटे

भवाडा हे महाराष्ट्राच्या ठाणे आणि नाशिक जिल्हयात आणि पश्चिम घाटाच्या उतारावर शेकडो वर्ष पिढयानपिढया नांदणाऱ्या दुबळा, कोकणा, ठाकर इ. आदिवासी जमातीचे पारंपारिक नृत्यनाटय. नवस फेडण्यासाठी प्रामुख्याने हा सामुहिक नृत्यप्रकार आयोजित केला जातो. या नृत्यात मुखवटयांच्या माध्यमातून पितरांची पूजा केली जाते. दुष्काळ, रोगराई, अपमृत्यू यासाठी एखादा गाव भवाडा बोलला असेल तर सतत तीन वर्षे भवाडा घालावा लागंतो.

आदिवासींचे बरेच उत्सव हे दैवताने आपल्यावर कोपू नये या भितीपोटी केले जातात. गावावर एखादं संकट आल्यास सारा गाव भगताला शरण जातो कारण भगत म्हणजे साक्षात परमेश्वराचा प्रतिनिधी ठिकठिकाणचे भगत आपल्या पध्दतीनुसार गावासमोरच्या समस्येचे उत्तर शोधण्याचा प्रयत्न करतात. संकट टळण्यासाठी भगत भवाडा घालायला सांगतो. भवाडा हा देवाच्या पूजे इतकाच श्रध्देनं घातला जातो. हजारातून एखाद्याच आदिवासींच्या हातात मुखवटे तयार करण्याची कला असते.

कागदाच्या लगद्याचे, शेणाचे, शेणमाती गवतकूट यापासून तयार केलेल्या गाऱ्याचे आणि ताटीचे असे अनेक प्रकारचे मुखवटे भवाडा घालण्यासाठी तयार केले जातात. त्यापैकी कागदी लगद्याचे आणि लाकडी मुखवटे आदिवासींमध्ये जास्त प्रचलित आहेत.

कागदी लगद्याचा मुखवटा तयार करण्यासाठी १०-१५ किलो वर्तमानपत्राची रद्दी पाण्यात बारीक बारीक तुकडे करुन भिजविली जाते आणि मग तो लगदा चांगला एकजीव होईपर्यंत कुटला जातो. दहा पंधरा दिवस हा लगदा ठेवतात. असा भिजवलेला व भरपूर कुटल्यामुळे एकजीव झालेला कागदाचा लगदा चिखलाच्या आधीच थापून ठेवलेल्या गोळयावर परसतात आणि अत्यंत श्रध्देने मुखवटा तयार करायला प्रारंभ करतात, कारण अंगात दैवी गुण असला तरच ही कला येते असा आदिवासींचा विश्वास आहे.

लाकडी मुखवटे नाशिक जिल्हयाच्या पेठ, सुरगणा आणि दिंडोरी भागात अत्यंत चांगल्या पध्दतीने आणि कलाकौशल्यांचा पूर्ण वापर करुन तयार केले जातात. एका एका कुटुंबात विशिष्ट प्रकारचेच मुखवटे तयार केले जातात. लाकडी मुखवटयांसाठी चांगले पांगाऱ्याच्या बुंध्याचे ओले लाकूड निवडून आणले जाते. वाकस, पटाशी इत्यादी सुतारकामाच्या हत्यारांच्या सहाय्याने दिवसरात्र मेहनत करुन हे आदिवासी कलाकार त्या बुंध्यातून, नाक, डोळे इत्यादी अवयव कोरुन काढतात. लाकडी मुखवटयाला घासकागदाने मनाजोगते पॉलिश केल्यानंतर रंगकामाला सुरुवात होते. रंग रचनेलासुध्दा धार्मिक कल्पनांचा आधार आहे. पूर्वी या मुखवटयांच्या रंगरंगोटीकरिता हळद, माती, मंजिष्ठा, पळस, हिरवे गवत, डाळींब यापासून तयार केलेले नैसर्गिक रंग आदिवासी वापरत असत. आता मात्र सहज उपलब्ध होणारे सिंथेटिक इनॅमल रंगच या कामासाठी सर्रास वापरले जातात.

भवाडा घालण्यासाठी अनेक वैचित्र्यपूर्ण मुखवटे आदिवासी कलाकार तयार करतात एवढी मेहनत केल्यानंतर एका मुखवटयाचे या कलाकारांना दीडदोनशे रुपये मिळतात. कधी कधी शहरातील हौशी मंडळी हे मुखवटे घराच्या सजावटीसाठी घेऊन जातात. दिवसरात्र खपून आदिवासी कलाकारांनी तयार केलेले मुखवटे घालून आदिवासी भवाडयात अविश्रांत नाचत राहतात. भवाडयांच्या मुखवटयांचा नाच तीन दिवस चालतो. यात अनेक प्रकारचे मुखवटे असतात. चंद्र, सूर्य, धरतरी, गणसरी या बरोबरच हिंदू धर्माच्या प्रभावामुळे आलेले रामायण, महाभारतातील पात्रांचे मुखवटे शिवाय अनेक पक्षी, पशु, प्राणी जीवनाविषयीची आपली कृतज्ञता आदिवासी या मुखवटयांद्वारे व्यक्त करतात.

आदिवासींच्या हस्तव्यवसायातून तयार झालेल्या वस्तूंना आज जगभर उत्तम मागणी आहे. पण उत्तम दर्जाचे असूनसुध्दा भवाडयांच्या मुखवटयांचा अद्यापि म्हणावा तसा प्रसार झालेला नाही.

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(ही माहिती देण्याचे मुख्य प्रयोजन म्हणजे मुखपृष्ठ, मुखपृष्ठाच्या आतील पानांवरील व मलपृष्ठाच्या आतील पानांवरील फोटो संबंधीची माहिती वाचकांना व्हावी हे आहे. मुखपृष्ठावरील छायाचित्र हे चंद्र देवतेच्या मुखवटयाचे आहे. इतर चार छायाचित्रे हीसुध्दा आदिवासी जमातीतील देवतांची आहेत.)

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वृत्तविशेष-

प्रशिक्षण कक्ष

संस्थेने २००१-२००२ या वर्षामध्ये एकूण ७५ प्रशिक्षण सत्रे संपन्न केली. यामध्ये ४२ प्रशिक्षण सत्रे ही सेवांतर्गत प्रशिक्षण सत्र होती. (त्यामध्ये प्रकल्प पातळीवरील २० स्वयंपाकी/कामाठी प्रशिक्षण सत्राचा समावेश आहे.) तसेच ३३ प्रशिक्षण सत्रे सेवापूर्व प्रशिक्षण सत्रे होती. त्यामध्ये प्रकल्प पातळीवरील २० आदिवासी युवक नेतृत्व शिबिर ११ स्पर्धा परीक्षा मार्गदर्शन सत्रे व १ आदिवासी कार्यकर्ता मार्गदर्शन शिबिर व १ आदिवासी कलाकारांसाठी वाद्यवृंद प्रशिक्षण सत्र विशेष प्रशिक्षण सत्राचा समावेश होता.

वर्ष	सेवांतर्गत प्रशिक्षण सत्र			सेवापूर्व प्रशिक्षण सत्र			एकूण प्रशिक्षण सत्रे		
	सत्रे	प्रशिक्षणार्थी संख्या	प्रशिक्षणा वरील खर्च	सत्रे	प्रशिक्षणार्थी संख्या	प्रशिक्षणा वरील खर्च	सत्रे	प्रशिक्षणार्थी संख्या	प्रशिक्षणा वरील खर्च
२००१-२००२	४२	१५८०	२३५०५४	३३	१४६७	१२२९४९०	७५	३०६७	१४६४५४४

संस्थेने सन २००२-२००३ या वर्षामध्ये सेवांतर्गत १६ व सेवापूर्व ८ अशी एकूण २४ प्रशिक्षण सत्रे संपन्न केली. सदर प्रशिक्षण सत्रामध्ये सेवांतर्गत प्रशिक्षण सत्रामध्ये ४३० व सेवापूर्व प्रशिक्षणामध्ये २६६ अशा एकूण ६६६ प्रशिक्षणार्थींनी या प्रशिक्षण सत्राचा लाभ घेतला. त्यसाठी एकूण रु.५,६३,०३६/- इतका खर्च करण्यात आला.

* * *

वृत्तविशेष-

मूल्यमापन अहवाल

आदिवासी संशोधन व प्रशिक्षण संस्थेमार्फत २००२ मध्ये मूल्यमापन कामकाजावर विशेष भर देण्यात आलेला होता व एकूण ११ मूल्यमापन अहवाल प्रकाशित करण्यात आलेले होते. या अहवालांची नांवे पुढीलप्रमाणे :-

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